

Higher Education for American Democracy

VOLUME II

*Equalizing and Expanding
Individual Opportunity*

A REPORT OF THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON
HIGHER EDUCATION

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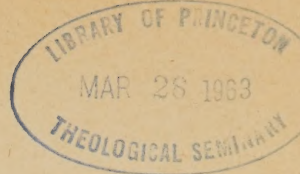
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PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON
HIGHER EDUCATION



Washington, December 1947

Letter of Transmittal

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 11, 1947.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

On July 13, 1946, you established the President's Commission on Higher Education and charged its members with the task of examining the functions of higher education in our democracy and the means by which they can best be performed.

The Commission has completed its task and submits herewith a comprehensive report, "Higher Education for American Democracy." The magnitude of the issues involved prompted the Commission to incorporate its findings and recommendations in a series of six volumes, of which this is the second.

The Commission members and the staff are grateful for the opportunity which you have given us to explore so fully the future role of higher education which is so closely identified with the welfare of our country and of the world.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE F. ZOOK,
Chairman.

THE HONORABLE
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Letter of Appointment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 13, 1946.*

DEAR _____:

As veterans return to college by the hundreds of thousands the institutions of higher education face a period of trial which is taxing their resources and their resourcefulness to the utmost. The Federal Government is taking all practicable steps to assist the institutions to meet this challenge and to assure that all qualified veterans desirous of continuing their education have the opportunity to do so. I am confident that the combined efforts of the educational institutions, the States, and the Federal Government will succeed in solving these immediate problems.

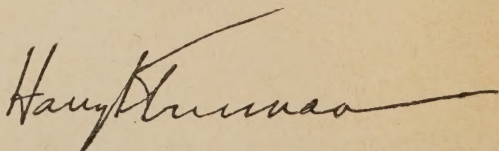
It seems particularly important, therefore, that we should now reexamine our system of higher education in terms of its objectives, methods, and facilities; and in the light of the social role it has to play.

These matters are of such far-reaching national importance that I have decided to appoint a Presidential Commission on Higher Education. This Commission will be composed of outstanding civic and educational leaders and will be charged with an examination of the functions of higher education in our democracy and of the means by which they can best be performed. I should like you to serve on this body.

Among the more specific questions with which I hope the Commission will concern itself are: ways and means of expanding educational opportunities for all able young people; the adequacy of curricula, particularly in the fields of international affairs and social understanding; the desirability of establishing a series of intermediate technical institutes; the financial structure of higher education with particular reference to the requirements for the rapid expansion of physical facilities. These topics of inquiry are merely suggestive and not intended to limit in any way the scope of the Commission's work.

I hope that you will find it possible to serve on this Commission.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Harry Truman", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

President's Commission on Higher Education

GEORGE F. ZOOK, *Chairman*

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A. B. BONDS, JR., *Assistant Executive Secretary*

Acknowledgments

The Commission gratefully acknowledges the enthusiastic cooperation and the invaluable assistance it has received from educational institutions and from individuals, organizations, and agencies both in and out of Government.

Dr. John R. Steelman, the Assistant to the President, in his official capacity as liaison between the various agencies of Government and the Commission took a deep and personal interest in its work.

Dr. J. Donald Kingsley, formerly Program Coordinator in the White House office, was extremely helpful in the initial development of the scope and content of the Commission's program. Acknowledgment is also due to John L. Thurston of Dr. Steelman's office for his work in forwarding the activities of the Commission.

Almost every agency and department of Government assisted the Commission in its task. Special appreciation is expressed to the United States Office of Education, the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of the Army and the Department of the Navy, the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of the Budget.

Through the cooperation of the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Council on Education, the National Research Council, and the Social Science Research Council, a special study was made of the faculties of thirty colleges and universities. The American Association of University Professors cooperated in extending the study of faculty personnel to members of its local chapters. The Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, conducted a special survey of the extensive activities of its member institutions. At the request of the Commission more than 50 professional and lay organizations submitted statements, or assembled data of much value.

Institutions of higher education and State Departments of Education in every State gladly and promptly supplied information requested by the Government Agencies through which the Commission carried on much of its research activities.

This demonstration of cooperation reflects the deep public awareness of the problems which face higher education, and is a matter of much gratification to the Commission. It is hoped that these cooperative relationships may, in themselves, suggest a pattern for the continuing cooperation of individuals, organizations, Government agencies, and institutions interested in the future welfare of higher education in America.

Dr. Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education of New York City, a member of the Commission, also served as its consultant in the preparation of this volume.

The Commission is especially indebted to the members of its staff for the loyal, persevering and intelligent way in which they have served the Commission. Dr. Francis J. Brown, Executive Secretary, and A. B. Bonds, Jr., Assistant Executive Secretary, deserve special mention.

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PREFACE

This is the second volume in the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education. It is concerned with the barriers to equal opportunity for higher education and the means of removing them.

America has long boasted of its educational system and too many of our citizens have tacitly assumed that the ladder of opportunity for education was equally accessible to all children and youth. Even those who, for financial or other reasons, found that they could not continue in school or college tended to feel that it was their own lack rather than the failure of our educational system.

The swift movement of events and the growing complexity of our national life and of world affairs make it imperative, at the earliest possible time, to translate our democratic ideal into a living reality; to eliminate the barriers to equality of educational opportunity; and to expand our colleges and universities to assure that the only factors which limit enrollment are the ability and interest of the prospective students.

A total of six volumes will be issued by the Commission under the general title, "Higher Education for American Democracy."

Volume 1, "Establishing the Goals," was published on December 14.

Volume 3, "Organizing Higher Education," presents an appraisal of organizational problems at the national, State, and local levels.

Volume 4, "Staffing Higher Education," is the Commission's recommendation for a greatly expanded and improved program for the preparation and in-service education of faculty personnel.

Volume 5, "Financing Higher Education," is an appraisal of fiscal needs and policies necessary for the program of higher education recommended by the Commission.

Volume 6, "Resource Data," is a compilation of some of the basic information used by the Commission in preparing its reports.

The Goal—Equal Opportunity

Equal educational opportunity for all persons, to the maximum of their individual abilities and without regard to economic status, race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or ancestry is a major goal of American democracy. Only an informed, thoughtful, tolerant people can maintain and develop a free society.

Equal opportunity for education does not mean equal or identical education for all individuals. It means, rather, that education at all levels shall be available equally to every qualified person.

The availability of higher education is determined in part by the extent and proximity of educational facilities. It is affected also by wide variations in the quality of elementary and secondary education provided locally. But the greatest barriers to equality of educational opportunity are the inadequacies of family income, the inability or unwillingness of some States to provide sufficient support for adequate schools and colleges, and the indifference of the American people to inadequate educational facilities in certain areas.

In principle, the demand for equal educational opportunity has had a long history in America. The growth of free elementary and secondary schools is well known. Our colleges and universities have been developed in response to the demands of those who aspired to higher learning. Privately controlled colleges and universities began early. In 1636 a college was founded in the Massachusetts Colony, partly by colony action, but even more of the credit is due John Harvard whose gift provided that "the tongues and arts" might be taught and learning and piety maintained. In 1701 the Connecticut Assembly founded Yale. Education was largely a private matter and generally church-controlled. During the first half-century after the American Revolution, interest in higher education was manifested in the establishment and endowment of academies and colleges for the selected few rather than in the creation of public schools for the many.

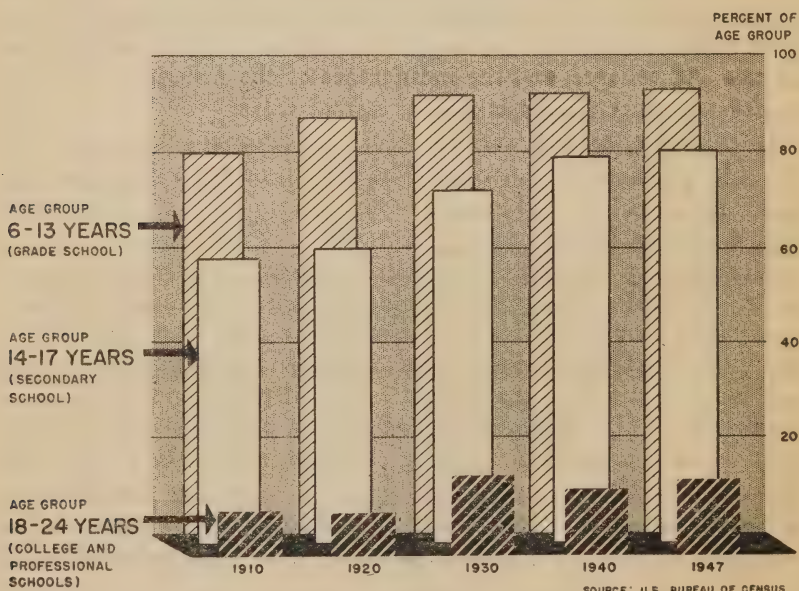
The State university movement started with the organization of the University of North Carolina in 1789. The land-grant colleges began their amazing growth with the passage of the Morrill Act by Congress in 1862. This act made grants of land to establish colleges, and subsequent acts in 1890 and 1907 made continuing commitments for appropriations of Federal funds for the further endowment and support of such colleges "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

The American concept of equal opportunity has been a foundation upon which our systems of public, tax-supported schools have since been built. This country has come far toward making universal the opportunity for education at the elementary and secondary school levels. In 1910, 80 percent of all children of elementary school age (6-13) were attending school; in 1940, more than 90 percent were attending. In 1910, 59 percent of those of high-school age (14-17) were attending school; by 1940 the percentage had risen to 79. In 1910, 9 percent of those 18-24 years of age were in school and college; and in 1940 this percentage had risen to 13. (See chart 1.)

Chart 1

HOW MANY GO TO SCHOOL

PERCENT OF EACH AGE GROUP ATTENDING SCHOOL, 1910-1947



CURRENT RESTRICTIONS OF OPPORTUNITY

Yet it would be false to the American faith and the American hope to allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency by this achievement. Our goal is still far from realized. For this goal is to enable each young person to have access to education to the extent that he can profit from it and of a character best designed to assure maximum development of his personal and social self.

At the secondary level a picture at once challenging and sobering is suggested by the fact that out of every thousand children in the 5th grade in the school year 1929 (September 1928–June 1929) only 736 entered high school, 378 graduated, 137 entered college, and 69 graduated from college by June 1940. The number of persons enrolled in institutions of higher education increased from 238,000 in 1900 to 1,494,000 in 1940. During the same period the population of the United States increased from 76 million to 132 million. Even so, in 1940, only 10.0 percent of the population 25 years of age and over had completed one or more years of college, and only 4.6 percent had completed four or more years. While there has been a gradual and consistent increase in the percentage of young people attending college, there has never been a year in which more than 16 percent of those between 18 and 21 were in institutions of higher education. The sharp increase in college enrollment beginning in the school year 1946 was due largely to veteran enrollments. The percentage of 18–21 year olds enrolled in 1947 was actually no more than in the prewar year 1940.

A variety of factors combine to account for this low level of enrollment, the most important being the inequality of educational facilities provided by different States. In 1940, the percentage of persons 25 to 29 years of age who had attended college ranged from 7.5 in the State of Alabama to 21.6 in the State of Utah. Throughout the country, proportionately only about half as many rural youth had attended college as those from urban communities.

The number of students attending colleges prior to World War II represents less than one-third of those who demonstrably can profit from higher education. Moreover, the need today both for wise leadership and for a higher level of competent and informed citizenship in our society is on such a scale of magnitude that the contrast between college accomplishments and community requirements is grave indeed. Never before has this country been presented with so evident a demand for informed and truly mature citizens. This is a demand imposed by our country's wish for the best developed individuals as persons; it is a necessity for this country's functioning as a nation—as a leading nation among nations—in the wise handling

of world affairs with the active support of the general electorate. We can readily afford to draw upon our wealth of material resources to narrow greatly and rapidly this gap between the presently available educational opportunities and those needed to realize the national potential.

It must always be remembered that at least as many young people who have the same or greater intellectual ability than those now in college do not enroll because of low family income. This is the single, most outstanding factor in the whole situation. It results primarily from the fact that the money incomes of more than one-half of American families in 1946 were at or below \$2,600 a year. The index of the cost of living in December 1946 was more than 50 percent higher than that of December 1940. Tuition costs have increased approximately 30 percent from the fall of 1938 to the fall of 1946 and are still increasing.

Even without stressing other influences—such as discrimination in race, religion, sex, and national origin—the economic factors alone combine to make the problem of going to college progressively more difficult unless some new methods of defraying these costs are provided.

DEMOCRACY DEMANDS AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Before further documenting the extent and seriousness of the several influences which help to perpetuate existing inequalities, it will be well to answer certain questions about the extension of opportunity to attend college.

This Commission, in volume I of its report, "Establishing the Goals," affirms the need of each individual for a broad educational experience. One which is not only general and liberal, not only sufficiently vocational, not only for broad competence in citizenship and in the wise use of leisure, but also an integrated and meaningful combination of all these aims at successive levels of education in accordance with the potentialities of each.

This Commission does not subscribe to the belief that higher education should be confined to an intellectual elite, much less a small elite drawn largely from families in the higher income brackets. Nor does it believe that a broadening of opportunity means a dilution of standards either of admission or of scholarly attainment in college work. Again, it dissents from the view that a substantially larger fraction of young people going to college would yield a large body of frustrated and disappointed persons because the discrepancy between their interests and their economic opportunity would be too great. It is true that this might happen under certain unfortunate conditions. But two points should be made. First, college education should be conducted with objectives more inclusive than the economic advancement of the graduate. Second there is a large array of semiprofessional

and nonprofessional callings in which a college education can be of marked advantage. To assume that only those looking to professional careers can profit from college experience is to misread and underestimate the broad personal and social benefits to be gained.

The danger is not that individuals may have too much education. It is rather that it may be either the wrong kinds for the particular individual, or education dominated by inadequate purposes.

Certainly any assumption that the number of young people now enrolled in institutions of higher learning comes anywhere near approximating the total of those who have the capacity to learn and profit by suitably focused education is mistaken and misleading. Studies recently made at the secondary school level show that, as enrollments have increased, there has been no lowering of the average intellectual achievement of students. This indicates a more general distribution of those with scholarship capacity than is usually assumed.

Present standards of scholarship and academic achievement should not, and need not, be lowered as provision is made for more students. If anything, the standards should be raised in order to make sure that hard work and real mastery result. This is not to say, however, that the same kind and content of higher education are desirable for all. There is already a wide variety of purposes and programs in American colleges; but there is need for even greater diversification and experimentation to take account of different kinds and degrees of intellectual capacity, talent, and interest. Indeed, an extension of community colleges (now usually referred to as *junior colleges*), as recommended by this Commission, inevitably will involve a shaping of new curricula in which the concept of *scholarship* may change even while standards of acceptable competence are maintained.

This Commission has concluded, after consideration of the results of the Army General Classification Test, the most inclusive testing program ever conducted, that even with the present inflexibility of college curricula, a minimum of 49 percent of the college-age population of this country has the ability to complete at least the first 2 years of college work, and at least 32 percent has the ability to complete additional years of higher education. With the greater adaptation and flexibility of the programs recommended by this Commission, these percentage figures supply conservative yet conclusive evidence of the social advisability of increased numbers attending college. To deprive qualified persons of the values thus to be gained is to restrict their potential development, narrow their outlook, and limit their appreciations. America cannot afford to be niggardly in its investment in individual well-being.

Denial of educational opportunity restricts the preparation of the individual for effective living. It is a limiting factor also in our national welfare. Never has our country been faced with so many and so significant problems which require the highest quality of leadership. The importance of a larger supply of intellectual eminence has been demonstrated abundantly in the physical and biological sciences. Equally well-educated leadership is necessary in our economic, social, and political life. Issues related to conservation and development of natural resources, to labor-management relations, to trade and commerce, must all be resolved in terms of the public interest.

Solutions to these and other problems of far-reaching consequence to national welfare require a greater number of persons with high quality of statesmanly ability. They demand also a broad understanding of the basic issues and a deep sense of awareness of the public good on the part of an ever-increasing proportion of our population.

EDUCATION AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP

The persistence of educational barriers also has its repercussions upon world problems. In the changing role of the United States as a world power, it becomes essential that a substantially larger proportion of our citizenry be equipped to assist in leadership in a world brought closer together by rapid communication and swift transportation. Changes in attitudes must attend this virtual elimination of time and space. Yet too few persons know or appreciate fully the significance of the present economic and cultural interdependence of the entire world.

As the preamble to UNESCO states, wars are made in the minds of men; there too must the instruments of peace and world organization be forged. A major responsibility of higher education is to qualify youth and adults, at the highest level of their capacities, for participation in a truly global society.

Provision of equality of educational opportunity requires an attack on present quantitative limitations. It is also a qualitative concern because there must be assurance that the education offered is actually equipping the next generation for its responsibilities—individual, national, and world-wide. Present qualitative inadequacies need appraisal equally as much as do those of a quantitative character.

FRONTIERS OF THE FUTURE

The climate of public sentiment has already begun to change regarding the opportunity of more young people to have a college education. The experience of veterans, of their parents, and of educators themselves has undoubtedly led to a raising of our national sights concern-

ing the number of those who profitably might attend college. The expectation of, no less than the desire for, a longer educational period is today far more widespread in our college-age population than ever before. This has been demonstrated by the wide acceptance by the veterans of the generous educational program; indeed, here is a desire which promises to grow as it is satisfied. If the country can do this for the veteran, why cannot such a national policy be extended in the future to all who demonstrate sufficient mental capacity and drive?

There is general acceptance of the view that free education should be universally granted through the high school years—even though performance still falls short of this standard. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is increasing public pressure for free provision for at least two years beyond the secondary level. Indeed, the whole development of our state universities and land-grant colleges had contributed to advancing this outlook, despite the fact that these two types of institutions have in many instances found it necessary to require tuition and other fees.

The stage is set for a complete re-examination of the adequacy of our national post-high-school educational provisions. Important new pressures will undoubtedly disturb many existing conceptions about the place of the college and university in our society. Hence, it is imperative to survey the scene afresh. The assignment has to be approached not merely in the frame of accepted administrative and educational premises. It has become today rather a problem of public policy, of national interest, of social and democratic concern, requiring the informed attention of citizens generally. For in the last analysis, the amount, the quality, and the cost of education for the public weal are matters settled by all of us as taxpayers and by our legislators in implementing our intentions.

The Economic Barrier

Inadequacy of family income with all its attendant consequences is one of the primary factors limiting the opportunity of American youth to attend college. In studying the documentation of this fact, the shortcomings of education must be considered. The bare statistics must also be considered with two qualifying factors well in mind.

First, present distribution of family income reveals sobering inequalities. This problem must be faced realistically and any remedial measures offered must be capable of accomplishment. It is recognized that this pattern can and no doubt will change in the direction of a lessened maldistribution. Indeed, an ideally adequate program of higher education undoubtedly would result in a more even distribution of income as well as greater national productivity. All measures which will contribute to increasing the total national productivity thus become essential as indirect means toward lessening economic barriers to education. The problem of the removal of economic handicaps is one of devoting a larger percentage of our national annual income to education, and, equally, of enabling each family to earn a higher annual income.

Second, it should be remembered that such an analysis as this necessarily has to deal with broad average levels of income and their consequences. It is true, however, that individual families may set so high a value upon a college education that they will make the necessary sacrifices for their children to obtain it. Further, many individual young people offset their economic handicaps with cultural aspirations, ambition, and a driving thirst for knowledge that lead them to attempt to work their way through college if such a path is opened up to them. Yet such individual efforts will necessarily be the exception and are not palliatives to adverse conditions.

BARRIERS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES

Table 1 presents the most salient facts about current family income distribution. In examining the facts it sets forth, it should be realized

that the inflationary living costs of 1947 have not been compensated for in many parts of our economy by equivalent wage and salary increases. Consequently the table is an understatement of the present condition.

TABLE 1.—Percent distribution of family units ¹ by 1945 and 1946 money income ²

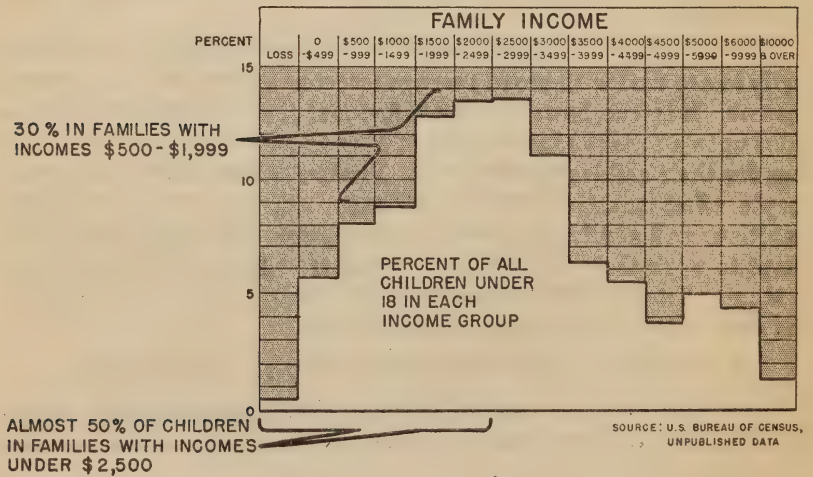
Money income before taxes	Distribution of families	
	1945	1946
	Percent	Percent
Under \$1,000.....	18	15
\$1,000 to \$1,999.....	22	20
\$2,000 to \$2,999.....	22	22
\$3,000 to \$3,999.....	17	18
\$4,000 to \$4,999.....	9	10
\$5,000 to \$7,499.....	8	9
\$7,500 and over.....	4	6
Median income.....	\$2, 400	\$2, 600

¹ A "family unit" is defined as a spending unit of all persons living in the same dwelling, who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption, and who pooled their income to meet major expenses.
² Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

In 1945, nearly 75 percent of all the children under 18 in this country were living in families whose total money incomes were less than \$3,500 a year. Nearly 50 percent of the children under 18 were in families whose incomes were at or under \$2,500 in that year, and 36 percent were in families with income of less than \$2,000 a year.

Chart 2

CONCENTRATION OF SCHOOL - AGE CHILDREN IN LOW INCOME FAMILIES, 1945



The concentration of large numbers of children in low income families is particularly marked in certain regions of the country. These regional differences have resulted in striking disparities in the distribution of the financial ability of the regions to carry their educational loads. For example, the South traditionally has had the highest birth rate, yet economically the region is the least able to finance education. This region in 1945 faced the responsibility of educating no less than 37.1 percent of the Nation's children (5 to 17 years of age), but its share of total income payments was only 22.6 percent. In 1940 the South was educating 36.6 percent of the Nation's children with 19.6 percent of the income payments. The disparity between educational load and income is most striking in the farm population of the South. On southern farmers, in 1940, fell the task of supporting and educating 17.1 percent of all children of school age (5-17) although the income received from farming in this region was only 2.6 percent of the national total of income payments.

Family Income and Educational Attainment of Children

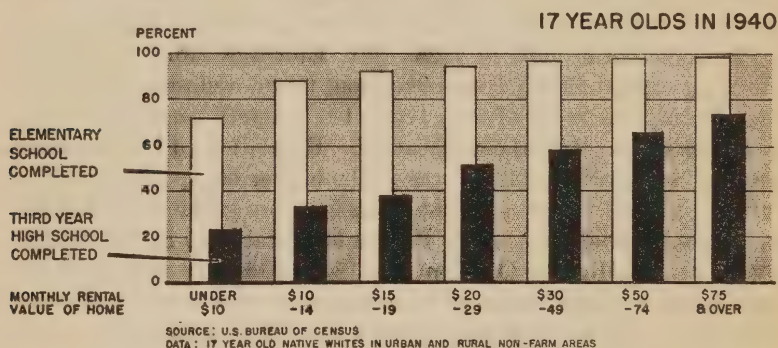
The education of each individual to the fullest extent of his ability encounters economic obstacles at every stage of the educational process. This point is illustrated in a study of boys who were in the sixth grade of Pennsylvania schools in 1926. Mr. Elbridge Sibley, reporting a follow-up study of their later education, found a close correlation between the highest grade of school completed, Intelligence Quotient, and the father's occupational classification. Regardless of his Intelligence Quotient, a boy whose father was in the higher occupational and generally higher income groups had a considerably greater probability of going to school beyond the twelfth grade. Statistics for the brightest boys, with Intelligence Quotients of 124 and above, show that a boy from the highest occupational income groups had a 4 to 1 advantage over boys in the lower groups insofar as college attendance was concerned. Statistics for all boys, regardless of their individual Intelligence Quotients, show that a boy from the higher occupational groups had a 10 to 1 prospect of attending college over the chances of those from the lower occupational groups. To a lesser degree, the same situation prevailed with regard to their prospects of completing either the eighth or the twelfth grades.

The 1938 report of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, *Youth Tell Their Story*, likewise shows a high correlation between paternal occupation and the educational progress of the children. In families where the father's occupation was "professional-technical," only 1 out of 13 children failed to advance beyond the eighth grade. In the families of "farm laborers," 7 out of 8 children did not go beyond the eighth grade; and in the "unskilled" category, 2 out of 3 failed to advance beyond this grade.

Another analysis of the 1940 census data, summarized in chart 3, showed the relation between educational attainment and the monthly rental value of the home. A study was made of a fairly homogeneous group of about 1.5 million 17-year-old native whites living in urban or rural non-farm areas. Rental value of the home, except in time of extreme housing shortage, is recognized as a sensitive index of the economic status of the family. In the lowest rental value group—under \$10 per month—the most frequent level of school completion was less than 8 years of schooling, and almost 60 percent of the children had not gone beyond the first year of high school (ninth grade). In the highest rental value group—\$75 per month and over—almost 75 percent of the children had completed three or more years of high school. The completion of 3 years of high school is considered normal for 17 year olds.

Chart 3

SCHOOL ATTAINMENTS RELATED TO FAMILY ECONOMIC STATUS



Volume I of the reports of this Commission, "Establishing the Goals," stresses the vast gap between the number of students enrolled and the number who have the ability to benefit from higher education.

In a University of Minnesota study made in the early 1940s, it was found that:

Many able graduates * * * were not attending college. Considerably less than half of the high-school graduates who ranked in the upper 30 percent of their high-school classes were enrolled in college. More than 15 percent of these able graduates who did not continue their training were unemployed. High marks in school are doubtless desirable, but they are not the open sesame to college halls or employment for those graduates.

For every [high school] graduate who ranked in the upper 10 percent of his high-school class and entered college, another graduate who also ranked in the upper 10 percent did not enter college.

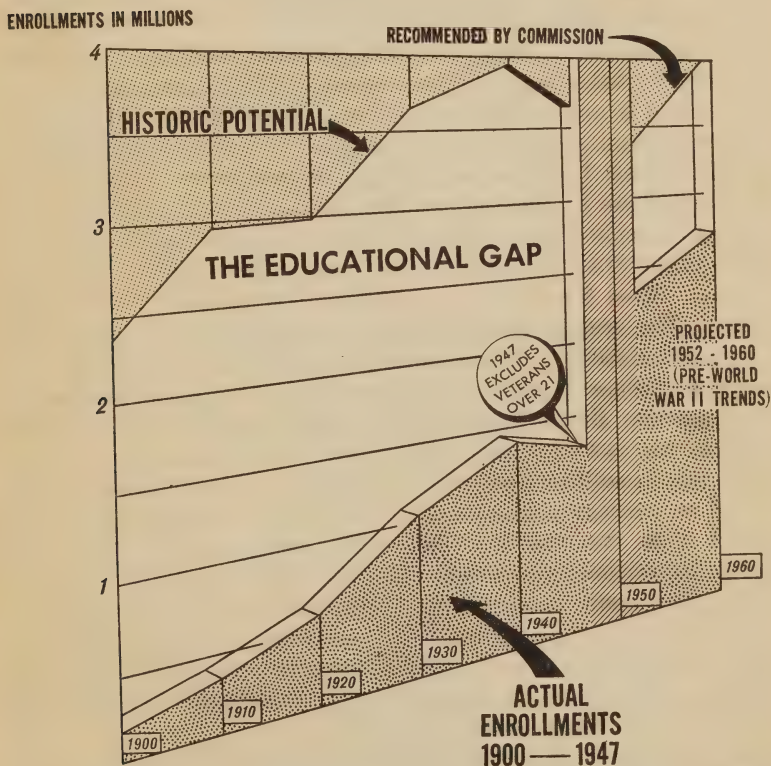
For every graduate who ranked in the upper 30 percent of his class and entered college, two graduates who ranked in the upper 30 percent did not enter college.

* * * Many able high-school graduates were not enrolled for further education. It is no longer safe to assume—if it ever was—that the most intelligent high-school graduates go to college. It is of fundamental importance for all the people of the State to know how generally young people who would make the best teachers, lawyers, accountants, doctors, engineers, and statesmen are not able to attend colleges and universities. It has been assumed traditionally that the most capable high-school graduates go to college. It is suggested by this study, however, that geography and the economic resources of the family are perhaps as closely related to college attendance as intellectual fitness.

Chart 4

THE GAP IN HIGHER EDUCATION

UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENTS - ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL



SOURCE: RESIDENT ENROLLMENTS AND PROJECTION OF PRE-WORLD WAR II TRENDS FROM U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

This Commission concludes that the decision as to who shall go to college is at present influenced far too much by economic considerations. These include inadequacy of family income; the opportunity today afforded young people out of high school to earn relatively high wages; and the increasingly high living costs for students forced to live away from home while in college. These factors combine to keep out of college many who have the abilities which would enable them to profit substantially by a college course of study.

The Upward Trend in College Fees

The prospective student from a low income family faces two successive hurdles as he tries to enter college. One is the economic status of his family which works against his initial decision to attempt to enroll; the other is the fact that, once on the campus, he finds an ever-increasing scale of assorted fees which imperil his ability to remain. It is assumed generally that State and municipally supported colleges and universities are essentially free of fees. But this is true only in a few areas and in a comparatively few fields of study. Many State and municipally supported institutions of higher education have low fees. But even low fees are not low enough to prevent their being an obstacle to many students, and the tendency is for these charges to spiral upward. The amount of \$98.78 per academic year could certainly not be regarded as low by the 36 percent of American children in families whose 1945 money incomes were less than \$2,000. Yet \$98.78 was the estimated average of tuition and other required fees during the academic year 1947 of the liberal arts schools of publicly controlled institutions. This average fee was for legal residents of the State or other political subdivision controlling the institution. Fees for out-of-area students during that year averaged \$224.72. The average fees of privately controlled liberal arts colleges amounted to \$296.99. The average fees for other types of education varied, but there was one element common to all—the marked rise of college fees above the pre-World War II level which materially increased the cost of higher education to the student.

The rise in college fees has been steady. In the fall of 1946 fees showed an average increase of 28 percent over those in effect in the fall of 1938. Volume V of this Commission's report, "Financing Higher Education," points out that student fees play only a part in meeting the costs of educating students and that other sources of revenue are declining in relative importance. Administrators are faced with the hard fact that their institutions must be kept solvent and that operating expenses must be met. Table 2 affords a view of the extent to which fees in certain fields have risen.

But tuition and other fees are only a part of the student's expenses. Physical accessibility plays an important role in college attendance.

TABLE 2.—*Estimated average tuition and other required fees for higher education in 1947, compared with average for 1939*¹

Kind of school ²	Average fee, ³ 1946-47					
	Privately controlled institutions		Publicly controlled institutions			
			For residents		For nonresidents	
	Amount	As of 1938-39	Amount	As of 1938-39	Amount	As of 1938-39
		Percent		Percent		Percent
Agriculture.....			\$83. 87	133	\$249. 95	116
Arts and sciences.....	\$296. 99	129	98. 78	122	224. 72	123
Business administration.....	373. 84	112	121. 76	131	237. 74	125
Dentistry.....	529. 25	156	297. 33	117	460. 67	120
Education.....	316. 04	124	88. 78	136	192. 41	149
Engineering.....	443. 61	133	124. 29	128	293. 09	179
Junior college.....	265. 54	132	93. 82	141	183. 46	180
Law.....	371. 24	133	163. 30	156	285. 17	146
Medicine.....	562. 10	124	331. 04	150	505. 45	107
Graduate.....	322. 06	123	117. 22	145	236. 96	111

¹ Source: Unpublished data of U. S. Office of Education for academic years ending June 30, 1939, and 1940.

² Amounts for agriculture, arts and sciences, business administration, education and engineering are restricted to those for undergraduate courses. By "graduate" is meant the liberal arts graduate school. Amounts shown are for attendance in institutions devoted primarily to the teaching of the subject matter specified, whether the institution be independent or a separate administrative unit of a larger institution.

³ Amounts shown are for a 2-semester session or a 3-quarter or 3-term session, generally September-June. They are restricted to required fees and payments, exclusive of living expenses; fees paid once for a period of more than 1 year (e. g.: a matriculation fee) and are included on an allocated basis. Unless laboratory is a required part of the course of study, laboratory fees are not included.

Many young people in this country are not fortunate enough to live within 10 to 20 miles of a college. Yet, it has been shown in New York State that if there is a college with low or medium fees within commuting distance, a higher proportion of youth in the area will go to college. The California experience with a large number of local tuition-free junior colleges indicates that under these favorable conditions, where living at home is possible, as many as 65 percent of the high-school graduates continue for at least two more years of education.

Room and board constitute the greatest single cost in college attendance away from home. These charges vary widely, and there is usually a considerable range of costs within a single institution. In land-grant and State institutions the average room and board charges in 1947 amounted to \$348.40 per student, as contrasted with a minimum average of about \$500 a year for room and board at privately controlled universities.

At a State institution, where education away from home generally costs the least, a minimum outlay for a resident of the State would have required about \$700 for the 9 months school year ending June 1947. The State of New York—a high-cost educational area—estimates that in 1941 the average student in the State spent about \$1,000 for tuition and other academic fees, board, room, recreation, books, supplies, and laundry, but not including clothes or transportation. Using estimates of the increase in prices for these goods and services, the 1947 expenditures would not have averaged less than \$1,500.

This great increase in costs has produced another important barrier to college attendance. Families with low incomes frequently feel the need for wages contributed by their younger members, who, hence, may be pressed to go to work instead of to college. Furthermore, in the large number of families at marginal levels of money income, it is clear that even if there were free tuition, excessive family sacrifices would be necessary were their children to attend college.

The financial difficulties already noted at the undergraduate level become greater for graduate and professional education because of the fact that at these levels the total cost of education is substantially higher. The greater difficulties involved in making opportunities available for talented students to pursue graduate or professional training give this problem a special status. The Commission's specific proposals for meeting this problem will be detailed in chapter IV of this volume.

BARRIERS AFFECTING ENTIRE COMMUNITIES

Certain limitations of educational opportunity confront entire communities, and affect all those within these disadvantaged areas who seek to attend college. Such barriers arise primarily from regional and area variations in money income. The community is but the family writ large, and economic weakness of the community cannot but affect the quality of its educational provisions.

All data emphasize the impact of economic disadvantage upon the educational life of the people. Throughout the Nation, young people in rural-farm areas have completed less school grades than the rural nonfarm and urban population of the same age. According to the 1940 census, the 14-year-old children in rural farm areas had completed 7.4 years of school, whereas the figures show 7.8 for rural nonfarm and 8.3 for urban areas. The disparity for 18-year-olds is even greater: 9.2 years in the rural-farm areas, 11.1 in rural nonfarm, and 12.0 in urban. Nor is this differential a reflection of retarded school careers in rural areas, since the median age in each school grade is about the same in the various areas.

Where resources are limited, local communities alone are unable to break the vicious cycle of poverty and low educational attainment. The community concept must be expanded so that citizens think of the United States as one great community having to share this financial responsibility. The economic resources of the entire Nation have to be drawn upon to assure a common denominator of extended educational benefits commensurate with the abilities and aspirations of the American people. The great need is for improved education at every level and in every community. The ultimate responsibility for this betterment has to be acknowledged by the entire Nation.

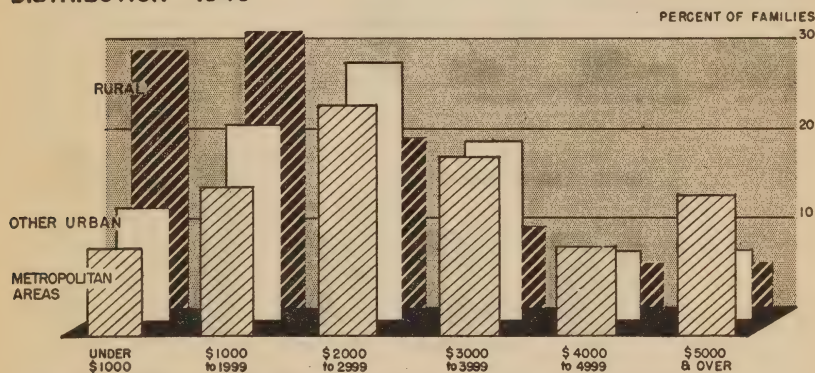
As shown in table 3, wide variation occurs in the ability of different areas to support higher education, and the lowest point is reached in agricultural areas, especially where cash crops prevail.

Chart 5 offers a dramatic confirmation of the disadvantaged income status of rural-farm areas. In 1940, 29 percent of the Nation's children (5-17 years of age) were in rural-farm areas, but the income from agriculture for the United States as a whole was only 7 percent of the total income payments in the United States.

Chart 5

DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY INCOME

METROPOLITAN, OTHER URBAN, RURAL
DISTRIBUTION - 1946



SOURCE: BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

NOTE: FAMILY MEANS SPENDING UNIT OF ALL PERSONS IN SAME DWELLING UNIT, BELONGING TO ONE FAMILY, AND WHO POOL THEIR INCOMES TO MEET MAJOR EXPENSES. "METROPOLITAN" REFERS TO 12 LARGEST CITIES AND THEIR SUBURBS

The differences in income are so great, especially between urban and rural areas, that even though some predominantly rural States allocate unusually high portions of their budgets for education, this budgetary provision is not enough to develop quality institutions of higher education.

A marked discrepancy in the relative rate of school and college enrollment of children in the urban and rural areas is revealed in chart 6. The increase in the attendance of the 20-24 year-old age group is due largely to the influx of veterans. In all areas, the proportionate number of persons in attendance has been far below the goals established by this Commission.

Charts 5 and 6 tell only part of the story. The quality of education is intimately associated with the amount of money expended for it. Table 3 reveals the variations in educational expenditures between regions in the United States.

Chart 6

SHIFTS IN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

1940-1947

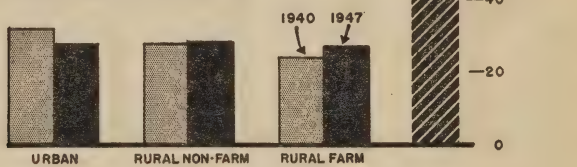
HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

PERCENT OF AGE-GROUP IN SCHOOL

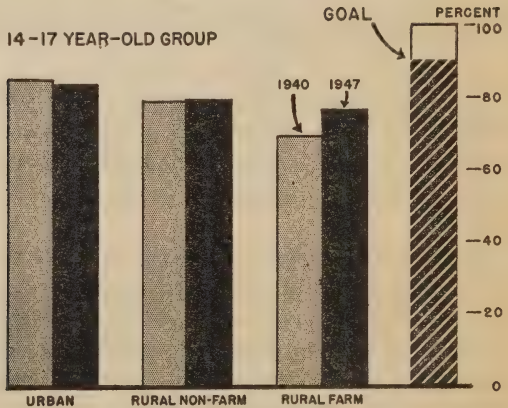
20-24 YEAR-OLD GROUP



18-19 YEAR-OLD GROUP



14-17 YEAR-OLD GROUP



SOURCE : U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS

TABLE 3.—*Percentage distribution of institutions and current educational expenditures for higher education: 1940*¹

Region	Percent of all institutions	Percent of total educational expenditure
Northeast.....	21	32
North central.....	34	32
South.....	33	24
West.....	12	12

¹ Source: U. S. Office of Education.

The loss in educational quality in the colleges and universities of the economically handicapped region adversely affects all individuals alike. Ineffective libraries or deficient laboratories drag heavily upon scholarly effort. Children who have completed their elementary and secondary schooling in a substandard system usually fare poorly when thrown into competition with the graduates from better schools. The same truth holds when the graduates of substandard colleges enter upon advanced study.

Inadequate schools are not, of course, the exclusive property of any one region or area. Economic conditions in certain areas predispose one to expect schools of inferior quality. But even in these areas, teachers and administrators have overcome great obstacles and created institutions which achieve marked success. On the other hand, within more wealthy regions one may find institutions which are educationally of poor quality.

No general raising of the level of educational effectiveness within the poorer States is possible without additional expenditures. Higher education, as now financed in the economically weak areas, does not and cannot offer the monetary inducements necessary to attract and hold adequate faculties. Without such faculties there can be no removal of a handicap which strikes indiscriminately at all who attend the colleges of the area. This is true even though instances of devoted and effective educational efforts by underpaid teachers are fortunately common.

This Commission is concerned with assuring a better education for students who succeed in enrolling. Mere access to the campus in no way guarantees equality of educational opportunity. The quality of instruction must be raised. In volume IV of its report, "Staffing Higher Education," this Commission has emphasized the need for additional funds to raise and equalize faculty salaries and thus the quality of education.

The mobility of college students, both in their selection of institutions and in their selection of places of residence after graduation, further supports the view that higher education is a national concern.

Educational inferiority in any area is a weakness of the whole Nation. The sharing of national resources is essential to remove the educational limitations faced by the less fortunate communities.

EXPANDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

There are several well-defined areas within which immediate and constructive steps might be taken. Of major importance is the establishment of a national system of scholarships (or individual grants-in-aid) and fellowships which will guarantee that a greatly increased number of qualified young persons have a chance for full educational development. This issue is so important that the whole of chapter IV will be devoted to it.

Of equal urgency as a step toward the massive broadening of opportunities for college attendance, this Commission urges the extension of free public education through the fourteenth year, whether attendance during the thirteenth and fourteenth year is in a 2- or a 4-year college.

A collateral activity should be a concerted drive to reduce all fees for public colleges and universities.

Tuition-Free Community Colleges

The volume of this report, "Establishing the Goals," defines the local publicly controlled community college as the next great area of expansion in higher education. The establishment of these tuition-free institutions will give many individuals the opportunity to study during the thirteenth and fourteenth school years in their own communities.

Reduction of Fees

It has been shown above that there has been a constantly increasing trend among all institutions of higher education to impose tuition fees and to increase tuition and supplementary fees for such other purposes as laboratory work, library use, and health care. It is necessary to reduce the barriers raised by these fees.

To that end, this Commission recommends that in publicly controlled institutions there be no tuition or other required fees for the thirteenth and fourteenth school years, irrespective of whether they are offered by a 2-year or a 4-year college; and that fees above the fourteenth school year be reduced at the earliest possible moment to the level prevailing in 1939.

It is recognized that with respect to tuition and other fees the privately controlled colleges are confronted with serious financial difficulties. But it is to be hoped that such colleges will do all in their power to keep the costs to students as low as is economically possible. The high level of fees in such institutions represents a danger to the

institution: the danger of restricting their student body largely to students from families of high income.

It is the responsibility of the community, at the local, State, and National levels, to guarantee that financial barriers do not prevent any able and otherwise qualified young person from receiving the opportunity for higher education. There must be developed in this country the widespread realization that money expended for education is the wisest and soundest of investments in the national interest. The democratic community cannot tolerate a society based upon education for the well-to-do alone. If college opportunities are restricted to those in the higher income brackets, the way is open to the creation and perpetuation of a class society which has no place in the American way of life.

There have to be facilities for assuring to our people an understanding of the world about them, and for developing mature skills to control the forces at work in the world. For a virile democratic society there must be a substantial majority of people who understand and will assume the responsibilities for self-government. Eternal vigilance cannot be maintained by an inadequately educated people. When this truth is clearly understood by the American public, it will strive unrelentingly through education to give substance and actuality to the equality of opportunity which it professes.

Discrimination in Higher Education

A discussion of discrimination involves controversial problems which have a long history in the United States and which acutely reflect regional differences of experience and attitude. Complete correction of the difficulties cannot take place immediately or suddenly. Such deep-seated problems require time and education for their eradication. They require patience and mutual forbearance. They require also a steady, determined, and consistent effort by all to effect the changes needed. It is in this spirit of evolutionary yet courageous and persistent will to improve the situation that the following discussion is presented.

Discrimination in the admission of college students because of an individual's race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or ancestry is an antidemocratic practice which creates serious inequalities in the opportunity for higher education. The Commission is opposed to discrimination and believes it should be abandoned.

Discriminatory practices deprive the Nation of a great variety of talent, create and perpetuate serious inequalities, and generate dangerous tensions. The impact of these social attitudes and behavior patterns adversely affects our entire society—group relationships, the individuals who discriminate, and the individuals who are discriminated against. This spiritual damage is not measurable; indeed it has never been recognized with complete honesty. To the extent that intolerant attitudes against members of minority groups are given support by our educational institutions, the fabric of our democratic life is endangered.

A quantitative measure of discrimination at the undergraduate level is impossible to obtain. Educational institutions are reluctant to be explicit about their selection criteria as these apply to minority groups. Discriminatory practices are denied, ignored, or rationalized. *But it requires no parade of statistics to know that the situation for young people of minority groups is today unsatisfactory, both in their opportunity to enter college and in the happiness of their*

college life. Enrollment data unmistakably indicate the prevalence of quota systems and policies of exclusion. The nature of discrimination varies with respect to different minority groups and in different sections of the country. But discrimination on grounds of an individual's race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or ancestry is undoubtedly a fact in many institutions of higher education.

The problem is not limited to the individuals who are denied admission. Even for such of the minority group students as are admitted, the unhappy consequences of intolerance can be and often are profound and lifelong. The frustrations of social discrimination—in the dormitories, in honorary societies, in fraternities and sororities, on athletic teams, and at social functions—strike at the personal dignity of the affected students from minority groups. There are even some college communities in which a nonwhite student cannot get a haircut or be served in the local restaurants.

Colleges have a unique opportunity to offer an experience in tolerance and understanding which grows out of democratic relations with students from various national and religious backgrounds. Colleges should become laboratories of inter-race and interfaith fellowship.

There is need of deep searching of soul on the part of all to face this problem honestly; to work courageously and persistently for a program of correction which will supply a guide and an example of equality and justice for the national community.

In a world striving for international understanding and permanent peace it is essential that this Nation achieve unity and intergroup cooperation within its own borders. Our statesmen are sometimes embarrassed in their international dealings by racial discrimination within the United States. Its existence weakens our position in international affairs at the same time that its impact exacts grievous economic, moral, and political costs at home.

Other international repercussions result from these discriminatory practices. As our educational institutions enroll an increasing number of foreign students, the inconsistency between profession and practice becomes even more apparent. Many foreign students now coming to American colleges are from groups which we tend to regard as minority. If our domestic house is not in order, these visitors will be subjected to the same embarrassments, exclusions, and social separations in our colleges and local communities as our domestic minorities now experience. The broadening of student outlook and a free and tolerant exchange of knowledge is thus injured, and failure to accept these students fully, without discrimination, will interfere with amicable international relations.

TO END DISCRIMINATION

It is often said that colleges and universities reflect rather than shape public attitudes; that educational institutions cannot run counter to community sentiment, tradition, and alumni attitudes. To some extent, of course, this is true. But this factor cannot be made the excuse for inaction within the colleges.

This Commission urges educational institutions to act as pioneering agents of leadership against discrimination. Each institution should conscientiously plan and prosecute a well organized program to reduce and where possible promptly to eliminate discrimination, not only by correcting its policies and practices, but also by educating its students to seek the abolition of discriminatory practices in all their manifestations.

This Commission is fully aware of the practical difficulties confronting such a program. It is realistic about the legalities, regional attitudes, and other conditions which complicate the problem. But realism has also to admit that elimination of discrimination is the goal, and that American institutions of higher education should be committed to working progressively in specific terms to remove present inequities.

The urgency of this issue in our national life, in education, and in the growing sense of grievance in the minds of all minority group members does not promise, however, to let a satisfactory democratic outcome wait upon statements of pious intention or upon tardy voluntary action. State legislation which places explicit and uniform obligation upon all institutions of higher learning to abandon discriminatory practices is currently being urged in New York State, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey; and there is every reason to suppose that the enactment of such measures will come in the reasonably near future. Where assurance of good conduct in other fields of public concern has not been forthcoming from citizen groups, the passage of laws to enforce good conduct has been the corrective method of a democratic society. Extension of this method into the educational field with respect to discriminatory practices is, therefore, not only a defensible measure; it is also in the light of the resistances, timidities, and varying practices of today the logical next step.

Fundamentally, adherence to discriminatory procedures in privately controlled colleges has been based upon an assumption by such institutions that they had solely a private responsibility. But this view is now rapidly giving place to one of public accountability on the part of all colleges and universities. It is becoming generally acknowledged that despite a large measure of private control and private support, these institutions are vitally affected with a public interest. Not only is this reflected in the privilege of tax exemption which they are ac-

corded, but also in the process of State accreditation in certain States, and in the recognition that they constitute part of a program of higher education dedicated to the Nation's welfare. They are thus genuinely vested with a public interest and as such are morally obligated to abandon restrictive policies. As the President's Committee on Civil Rights has stated "* * * the public cannot long tolerate practices by private educational institutions which are in serious conflict with patterns of democratic life * * *."

In order that this mandate of public obligation shall have equal force everywhere, and not lead merely to pronouncements by individual colleges, the invoking of legislation along lines of the proposed legislation against discrimination in New York seems the logical way of advance. The Commission concludes that to assure a universal and equal regard for a policy of nondiscrimination the legal method becomes both fair and practical.

Moreover, a universal legal mandate can be a helpful defense for admission officers against undue pressure of alumni groups and of professional associations which may attempt to influence admissions policies in order to maintain the character of an institution in accord with an established tradition. There is good ground for belief that a required removal of discriminatory criteria for the selection of students would result in a more diversified distribution of students from minority groups among all institutions, with a minimum of concentration in a certain few colleges and universities.

Admissions policies of those public universities where a high school diploma qualifies students for entrance differ from the admissions policies of independent institutions which set up a variety of criteria. Such diversity is no doubt part of the strength of the American educational system. The distinctive character of American colleges and universities, under their separate charters and leaders, assures that each institution will define for itself specific educational objectives, and this implies some differential policy of student selection. Privately controlled colleges and universities have thus far been free legally to limit and choose their students according to criteria beyond those based on specified standards of intelligence and scholarship. Among these criteria now in use for which there may be some justification are the giving of preference to children of alumni, to applicants from specific geographic areas, to students who rank above a given level in the graduating class in high school. Institutions operating under sectarian auspices may appropriately give priority to students affiliated with those denominations.

Also, many privately controlled colleges wisely find it necessary to stipulate a maximum size for their student bodies. This stipulated enrollment is being exceeded in most institutions in the present emer-

gency years. But it is almost certain that some colleges will reduce their maximum enrollments again when the veteran demand is past. Taken together, these policies reduce the opportunity for qualified young people to attend private colleges; furthermore, they restrict equality of opportunity based upon ability.

A valid distinction thus exists between justifiable selection standards and selection criteria which include discriminatory practices. Selection in accordance with the stated objectives of the institution, based on scholarship, other worthy qualities of the student and other justified, publicized, and consistent standards is defensible. But it is possible to use such standards as a cover for unjustified discrimination. It is admittedly difficult either to discover or to rectify such a situation if the institution is reluctant to abandon discriminatory practices.

It is vital to stress that discrimination in one or another form and against one or another minority group is a national phenomenon, and is not confined to one or two minorities nor any one area in the Nation. Its consequences are felt throughout the land by such diverse religious and racial groups as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Latin Americans, Italians, and Orientals.

The documentation in this report of these consequences cannot be and need not be exhaustive. It is sufficient if it is illustrative in terms of the adverse results which follow in its wake. And this Commission is therefore presenting the evidence most readily available without claiming that the documentation and examples here offered embrace the entire problem.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION¹

The Negro is the most frequent victim of racial discrimination because prejudice on the basis of color is dominant in the American community. This is virtually as true in other parts of the country as in

¹ Statement of dissent:

The undersigned wish to record their dissent from the Commission's pronouncements on "segregation," especially as these pronouncements are related to education in the South. We recognize that many conditions affect adversely the lives of our Negro citizens, and that gross inequality of opportunity, economic and educational, is a fact. We are concerned that as rapidly as possible conditions should be improved, inequalities removed, and greater opportunity provided for all our people. But we believe that efforts toward these ends must, in the South, be made within the established patterns of social relationships, which require separate educational institutions for whites and Negroes. We believe that pronouncements such as those of the Commission on the question of segregation jeopardize these efforts, impede progress, and threaten tragedy to the people of the South, both white and Negro. We recognize the high purpose and the theoretical idealism of the Commission's recommendations. But a doctrinaire position which ignores the facts of history and the realities of the present is not one that will contribute constructively to the solution of difficult problems of human relationships.

ARTHUR H. COMPTON,
DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN,
LEWIS W. JONES,
GOODRICH C. WHITE.

the South. The Negro must endure discriminatory practices in almost every aspect of his life. That such practices and attitudes are rooted in the history of our country does not make it easier for him to bear them.

The Educational Status of the Negro

The following recital of the educational opportunities of the Negro is an unadorned statement of fact. It presents a sobering indictment. This picture would appear much less grim were we to contrast present conditions with those of 1900. From this point of view, there has been notable progress and an extraordinary disposition to confront the inadequacies with an eagerness for improvement. This rapid rate of improvement since 1900, however, stems from the excessively low educational level of the Negro at the turn of the century. What is necessary at this point in our history is an objective examination of the present situation in order that we may accelerate the advances of the past.

According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, data for 1940 revealed that Negro adults 25 years and over completed on the average only 5.7 years of schooling while the average for native white adults was 8.8 years and for foreign-born white adults was 7.3 years. While 92.5 percent of the native whites and 71.0 percent of the foreign-born whites had completed at least 5 years of grade school, only 58.0 percent of the Negroes had done so. While 82.7 percent of the native whites and 56.3 percent of the foreign-born whites had completed seventh grade, only 36.1 percent of the Negroes had accomplished as much. High school data are even more significant: 7.3 percent of the Negroes completed 4 years of high school; this contrasts with 28.8 percent of the native whites and 11.6 percent of the foreign-born whites. In higher education only 1.3 percent of the Negroes in contrast to the 5.4 percent of the native whites and 2.4 percent of the foreign-born whites completed a 4-year college course.

There are still those who deny the equal educability of the Negro and the whites, who allege an inherent lower intellectual capacity. But such stereotypes have been repeatedly disproved by authoritative scientific study both in the fields of anthropology and physiology, and in the records of educational achievement itself. Whatever differentials are observable in progress and attainment are clearly attributable to discrepancies in family, neighborhood, and total cultural background and experience. Wherever educational opportunity, along with more equitable economic and social conditions, has had even an approximate chance, the record of the Negro has shown no material difference from that of any other group.

However, the case for the extension of equal education for the Negro rests only in part upon his equal educability. The basic social

fact is that in a democracy his status as a citizen should assure him equal access to educational opportunity.

The Impact of Segregation on Higher Education for Negroes

The problem of discrimination is intensified and complicated in the 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia where legalized segregation limits educational opportunities for the Negro. Customs and attitudes, as well as statutes, in the South, have required that Negroes be denied admission to the institutions of higher learning for whites. The legal provision is that there shall be facilities supplied for "separate and equal" education of white and Negro students. But the separate and equal principle has nowhere been fully honored. Educational facilities for Negroes in segregated areas are inferior to those provided for whites. Whether one considers enrollment, over-all costs per student, teachers' salaries, transportation facilities, availability of secondary schools, or opportunities for undergraduate and graduate study, the consequences of segregation are always the same, and always adverse to the Negro citizen.

The President's Committee on Civil Rights in considering segregation came to the conclusion that "The separate but equal doctrine stands convicted on three grounds. It contravenes the equalitarian spirit of the American heritage. It has failed to operate, for history shows that inequality of service has been the omnipresent consequence of separation. It has institutionalized segregation and kept groups apart despite indisputable evidence that normal contacts among these groups tend to promote social harmony."

Negroes represent approximately 10 percent of the total population of the United States. Yet enrollments of Negroes in institutions of higher education during the school year 1947 accounted for only 3.1 percent of the total. An estimated 75,000 students of Negro descent were enrolled; of these, approximately 85 percent were enrolled in 105 segregated institutions.

The disparity is striking between expenditures for current education purposes by Negro and by other institutions of higher education in the District of Columbia and the 17 Southern States which require the segregation of Negroes. This is shown in an unpublished report by Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University. For all types of institutions, whether publicly or privately controlled, the ratio of expenditures of institutions for whites to those of institutions for Negroes ranged from 3 to 1 in the District of Columbia to 42 to 1 in Kentucky. And nowhere in the area, except in the District of Columbia, did there appear a single institution that approximated the undergraduate, graduate, and professional offerings characteristic of a first-class State university.

Segregation of the races in educational institutions legally requires the maintenance of a double school system. In most States this greatly increases the total cost and difficulty in making equivalent education accessible to all. A double system thus means an almost certain lessening of educational opportunity and a lowering for all of the quality of education. The more advanced the field of endeavor, the more wasteful and futile become attempts to justify a double system.

It is a tragic paradox that the communities and the States which are generally least able to afford this dual system of education strive to maintain it by virtue of their laws and traditions. *The National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes*, published in 1942 by the U. S. Office of Education, disclosed that "whereas very few southern Negroes were attending . . . eight [selected and nationally known] northern universities in 1939-40, in the year preceding 4,000 northern Negroes attended Negro colleges. Almost 3,000 of this number attended colleges in Southern States. Thus it appears that institutions located in those States which have the least wealth are providing educational facilities for Negro residents from more economically favored regions."

Discrimination by Graduate and Professional Schools

Not only is a small proportion of the Negro population enrolled in colleges and universities, but in addition Negro students receive a much smaller proportion of advanced degrees. In 1940 institutions for Negroes only (henceforth called Negro institutions) granted 2.4 percent of all earned degrees for that year. Moreover, of the 5,201 degrees granted by the Negro institutions, 97 percent were bachelors degrees, 3 percent were masters and none were doctorates. In the same year, of the degrees granted by all other institutions, 86 percent were bachelors, 12 percent were masters, and 2 percent were doctorates.

TABLE 4.—*Enrollment and degrees earned in the United States: 1940*¹

1940	Negro institutions		All other institutions	
	Number	Distribution	Number	Distribution
		Percent		Percent
Enrollment in continental United States	41,839		1,452,364	
Earned degrees granted	5,201	100	211,320	100
Bachelors or 1st Professional	5,056	97	181,444	86
Masters or 2nd Professional	145	3	26,586	12
Doctorates or 3rd Professional			3,290	2

¹ Source: U. S. Office of Education.

In the academic year 1947, some 40,000 advanced degrees were granted in the United States. Negro institutions accounted for 481 of these degrees, all of which were masters and none of which were

doctorates. In unsegregated institutions, 8 doctorates (Ph. D.'s) were granted to Negroes, more than 3,775 to non-Negro students.

This Commission, therefore, is concerned not only with increasing opportunity of Negroes to enroll in college, but also with enhancing the resources for Negroes to be trained for an increased number of advanced professional degrees.

Denial of professional education to Negroes affects our already scarce resources for research. Present constrictions upon professional education minimizes scholarly research into regional, social, and national problems (especially those of the Negro people), which research should be an invaluable addition to the scholarly contribution of Negro students. It also lessens research in all fields which would qualify the Negro scholar for college teaching and advanced research positions.

The extent of discrimination in professional education is further illustrated by the situation in medical schools. There are 77 medical schools in the country which graduated an average of 5,000 doctors per year between 1930 and 1939. Because of increased enrollment in medical schools during the war, 5,826 physicians were graduated in 1946. Of these only 154 were Negroes and all but 20 of these were graduated from the 2 Negro schools, Howard University and Meharry Medical College.

Of the 77 medical schools in the Nation, 20 are located in the South and do not admit Negroes; the remaining 55 are presumably open to Negroes. Actually, only one-third of the presumably nonsegregated schools are admitting Negro students. In 1938, the last year when the American Medical Association separately reported Negro and white medical students, only 372 Negroes were enrolled in all medical schools; 40 of these were enrolled in 17 of the 55 nonsegregated schools. In 1946, of the estimated 592 Negro medical students, 85 were enrolled in 20 nonsegregated schools; the remainder were enrolled in Meharry Medical College and Howard University.

Because of staff and plant limitations, the two Negro medical colleges cannot begin to train the Negroes who desire and who are qualified for careers in medicine. Howard University Medical School reports that its freshman class in prewar years was necessarily restricted to 60 students. Through further overtaxing of facilities the number has now been extended to 75 students.

Yet, in each of the years from 1935 to 1945 the school had from 600 to 700 applicants, and in 1946-47, this number increased to 1,350. The major factor limiting the training of Negro doctors is the practice of barring Negro students from clinical facilities, even in tax-supported hospitals. Internship and residency in a hospital are educational requirements for a career in medicine and they constitute additional areas where discrimination exists. Thus Negro students

must train only in Negro hospitals, and there are only about 112 such hospitals in the United States. Of these schools, 25 are accredited, and only 14 are approved for the training of interns.

Obviously the present production of Negro physicians cannot keep pace even with the growth of the Negro population, much less contribute to the general need. This shortage of doctors, serious for the white population, is a near catastrophe for the health of the Negro population, and discrimination by educational institutions is a contributing factor to it. Even when account is taken of the difficulties of obtaining a wise distribution of physicians throughout the country in relation to population, these figures still suggest an inadequacy of supply of Negro doctors which is indefensible.

The situation regarding Negro dentists is even more striking. Again, discrimination places the responsibility upon Howard University and Meharry Medical College to train the great bulk of the Negro dentists. Howard University Dental School reported in 1947 that its freshman dental class is limited to 50, although approximately 600 applications have been received annually for many years and nearly 1,000 applicants sought admission to the freshman class in the fall of 1947.

Of a total of 1,280 nursing schools in the country in 1947, 28 admit Negroes only, 38 admit Negro and white students, and the remaining 1,214 are for whites only. In 1945 the U. S. Public Health Service reported that the percentage of Negro nurses in the public health field is roughly 5 percent, whereas the Negro population in the United States is over 10 percent. Although there has been an encouraging increase in the number of Negro public health nurses as well as in the extent and quality of their preparation, nevertheless, as of January 1, 1945, only 6 percent had one or more college degrees, 86 percent had completed high school, and 8 percent had less than high school training.

Table 5 well summarizes the situation in several important professional fields. But let it be noted that ratios as here cited are merely metric devices. The use of ratios is never to be construed as an

TABLE 5.—Comparison of number of Negroes and whites in selected professions in comparison to Negro population and white population in segregated areas ¹

Profession	Ratio of practitioners to population		Ratio of Negroes per Negro practitioner to Whites per White practitioner
	Negro	White	
Doctors.....	1:4,409	1:843	5
Dentists.....	1:12,101	1:2,795	4
Pharmacists.....	1:22,815	1:1,714	13
Lawyers.....	1:24,997	1:702	36
Social workers.....	1:11,537	1:2,654	4
Engineers.....	1:130,700	1:1644	203

¹ Source: "The Availability of Education in the Negro Separate School." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Summer, 1947, pp. 264-265.

endorsement of a racially determined percentage of those to be educated for either a general or a specific purpose.

To End Racial Discrimination

This Commission concludes that there will be no fundamental correction of the total condition until segregation legislation is repealed.

Deep-seated, long-standing forces of opinion and sentiment are obviously involved. Segregation laws cannot be wished away or eradicated by executive order. But influences looking to their repeal are at work; time and more vigorous effort will change public sentiment. White and Negro citizens will have to continue to work together to secure the necessary legislation and then implement it adequately so that the educational opportunity for white and Negro students will become equal. Until such action is taken, the opportunities for Negroes to qualify as leaders in education, law, medicine, the church, and other areas will be limited seriously. Our national life is made poorer by the lack of such leadership.

Since legalized segregation still exists, this Commission urges that the separate educational institutions for Negroes be made truly equal in facilities and quality to those for white students. The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution states that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Maryland Court of Appeals, and the U. S. Supreme Court in a recent Missouri case, have both held that the fourteenth amendment, guaranteeing equal protection of the law, obligates every State to make available within its borders, to qualified Negro applicants, facilities for graduate and professional instruction equal to those offered to white students. Chief Justice Hughes' opinion declared that the practice of offering to pay the tuition fees of qualified Negro residents who must go outside the State to obtain such instruction does not meet the requirements of the Constitution.

A tremendous program for strengthening all of the southern Negro institutions is required if educational opportunities are to be equal. Until Negro young people have available the opportunity to attend elementary and secondary schools which properly prepare their graduates for college, segregation works as a virtual nullification of the opportunity for higher education everywhere.

The seriousness of the limitations upon Negro education makes it necessary to strengthen the private Negro colleges of the South which are now serving Negro youth in large numbers. Despite the fact that this recommendation is apparently inconsistent with the Commission's

position that segregation should be eliminated, the immediate practical fact is that with such meager opportunity of Negro youth for education, every current program to alleviate this situation should be encouraged.

Another expedient which has received consideration is the establishment of regional centers of study, attached to strong colleges and open to both white and Negro students, with broad curricular offerings and high standards of scholarship and research. This fails to meet the legal issue of providing equality of educational opportunity within each State, but it has the immediate practical merit that it would be economically feasible and be conducive to a more nonsegregated approach to regional educational problems.

If, as this Commission recommends, steps are taken to make Federal funds available to equalize higher educational opportunities among the States and otherwise to supplement inadequate State financial resources, all such legislation should clearly specify that there may be no discrimination in the channeling of such funds, either as regards possible individual beneficiaries under student grants-in-aid and fellowships, or as to institutions for white students as compared to institutions for Negroes only. Such provisions have not always been made in Federal legislation, the Smith-Hughes Act being a case in point. The Negro institutions should by law receive their full proportionate share of all Federal and State funds destined for the support of college instruction.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

A second significant body of illustrative evidence regarding discrimination is most readily available in terms of the experience of students of Jewish heritage.

But before advancing this second illustrative body of evidence, it is well to repeat the warning that in determining opportunities for education, it is not sound democratic doctrine to invoke the argument of maintaining the same ratios of minority group numbers enrolled in colleges to total population numbers. The only defensible basis is that total ability and interest—rather than quotas or ratios, however determined—be the criterion of admission to institutions of higher learning.

Jewish students represented 9 percent of the fall 1946 total enrollments in colleges and universities of the United States, according to findings of a decennial study conducted by the Vocational Service Bureau of B'nai B'rith, a national Jewish service organization. Enrollment figures were obtained from 1,504 out of 1,598 institutions, or 94 percent of those included in the study. The fact that the Jewish proportion of the college population is greater than the Jewish proportion of the total population of the country is largely explained by

the fact that the Jews in the United States are an urban people, and proportionately more than twice as many urban whites go to college as rural whites.

Techniques of Discrimination

Jewish students, however, do not have equal opportunity with non-Jewish students in the choice of institutions and in certain fields of advanced study. This situation has been aggravated in recent years. The obstacles created by private institutions of higher education are manifested in tacit or overt quota systems.

Efforts have been made by official and nonofficial groups to determine the exact extent of discrimination against Jewish students. An investigation of admission practices and policies of "nonsectarian institutions" in New York City was authorized by the Council of the City of New York in September, 1946. A special investigating committee was appointed, with full authority to attend and examine and take testimony under oath.

During the hearings it was conceded that the best method of disproving these charges would have been to produce the applications and records of accepted applicants in order to make a comparison with the stated qualifications of those rejected. The committee report states: " * * * it is fair to assume that the colleges or institutions claiming that the accusations of discrimination were unjust would assiduously guard the records which would result in their exculpation." Nevertheless, witnesses under oath testified that, in accordance with general practice, records for preceding years had been destroyed.

The committee also studied changes in the application forms prepared by the professional schools in New York City. Prior to 1920, an applicant was required merely to set forth the following information: name, address, age, place of birth, name of secondary school or college, scholastic record, and recommendations. Subsequently, many institutions requested data concerning his religion and places of birth of his father and mother. Then he was asked to furnish a photograph. Some of the schools, apparently because of criticism, substituted for a question on religion a question concerning "racial origin." This latter was dropped in some areas and applicants were required to state their "mother's maiden name." Every witness before the committee conceded that answers to such questions were of no value in determining the applicant's qualifications. The committee drew the "inescapable conclusion" that the institutions were "extremely anxious * * * to ascertain the racial origins, religion, and color of the various applicants for a purpose other than judging their qualifications for admission."

Indeed, it can almost be said that the request for certain information on application forms constitutes an all but *prima facie* case that such information is likely to be used for discriminatory purposes. A recent study of the questions asked on the admissions blanks of a large sampling of colleges leads to the conclusion that a substantial proportion include several questions which are readily susceptible for use in carrying through a tacit policy of discrimination. It is unquestionably true that many facts about ancestry, religious affiliation, and the like are legitimately useful to the college or university. But it is clear that all such information needed for educational purposes can readily be obtained *after* the student has been admitted rather than before.

This Commission, therefore, recommends the removal from application forms of all questions pertaining to religion, color, and national or racial origin. And it points out that the proposed State legislation against discrimination above referred to would automatically lead to the elimination of all questions of this kind.

Discrimination by Professional Schools

Turning now to the situation as to the attendance of students of Jewish families in professional schools, a sharp decline is to be noted in the percentage of Jewish law students. In 77 out of 160 law schools reporting to the B'nai B'rith in two surveys, one for the fall of 1935 and the other for the fall of 1946, the proportion of Jewish students dropped from 25.8 percent to 11.1 percent. While total enrollment in the 77 schools went up from 22,809 to 25,796, Jewish enrollment was reduced by more than half—from 5,884 to 2,862. Forty-six of the 77 schools are private; their total enrollment dropped 600, but they have 2,800 fewer Jewish students.

It is true, of course, for all the figures of professional school enrollments here set forth, that they include data for the recent years when rejections of all types of candidates have tended to be far higher than acceptances. Hence, it is as indicative, rather than as absolutely conclusive testimony that these figures have to be interpreted.

Sixty-two out of 181 engineering schools reporting in both surveys showed the proportion of Jewish students to have declined from 6.5 percent to 5.6 percent. This decline has taken place only in the privately controlled schools.

The Jewish proportion dropped from 8.5 percent to 4.4 percent in architecture; from 13.6 percent to 11.1 percent in social work; from 16.7 percent to 10.7 percent in commerce; from 15.5 percent to 8.4 percent in fine arts. The Jewish percentage in journalism stayed at 10.4. It rose from 0.8 to 2.6 in nursing; from 3.1 to 4.7 in education. The proportion of Jewish students in osteopathy shot up from 9.1 percent to 20.3 percent; this sharp rise stems mainly from the blocking of opportunity in medicine.

The distribution of Jewish students in medical schools requires particular consideration. The B'nai B'rith received data from the same 57 of the 79 medical schools for the falls of 1935 and 1946. Over the 11-year period there was an absolute loss of 408 Jewish students, even though the enrollment in these 57 schools rose by 557. This constitutes a relative decline in the proportion of Jewish students to total students from 16.1 percent in the fall of 1935, to 13.3 percent in the fall of 1946.

In the field of dentistry, where keen interest is displayed by Jewish youth, comparison of the data received in 1935 and 1946 from the same 28 out of 40 dental schools showed an increase of 175 in total enrollment, but a decrease of 486 in the Jewish enrollment. This constitutes a percentage decrease of Jewish enrollment of from 28.5 to 19.7.

A substantial part of the blame for discriminatory practices on the part of the medical and dental schools belongs to the professional associations which tremendously influence the admissions policy of individual institutions.

With respect to the teaching profession, the situation regarding discrimination is also unfortunate. Here, although accurate quantitative data are almost impossible to obtain, there is reason to believe that qualified teachers from minority groups confront a difficult situation in pursuing their profession, both at the lower levels and in college instruction. Indeed, many otherwise qualified individuals do not embark upon the necessary training to become teachers because the difficulties of placement are so well known. Whether it be at the level of training, of admission to employment, of equality of treatment, or of possibility of advancement, teachers from minority groups suffer a serious disadvantage in many localities and institutions.

OTHER ARBITRARY EXCLUSIONS

Antifeminism in Higher Education

Opportunity for the higher education of women is relatively recent. Of the 61 colleges established in the United States by 1834, not one "was dedicated" to the cause of women's education. A number of female seminaries had been established giving instruction in literature, art, music, and conduct, but not including curricula paralleling those of institutions for men. In the third quarter of the last century a number of female seminaries became women's colleges, and State universities began to open their doors to women students. Many, however, believed that such developments were a mistake, and as late as 1871 one authority stated, "If females persist in attempting to endure the rigor of hard study, hospitals and asylums must need be

erected alongside of colleges for women * * * higher education of females is a mistake full of unreason and fruitful of sorrow."

This attitude of denial of opportunity has largely disappeared in the present century except at the professional school level. In 1940, women comprised 40 percent of the total enrollment in institutions of higher education. During the war years, the proportion of women increased to 65 percent, but in 1947 it dropped to about 32 percent.

This differential is even more significant with respect to the number of graduate and professional degrees awarded and of the enrollment in professional schools. Masters or second professional degrees were awarded to 8,317 men and 3,840 women and doctorates or third professional degrees were granted to 1,244 men and 123 women in 1939-40. In 1946-47, there were 2,093 women medical students or 10 percent of the total students enrolled. This is the highest absolute as well as relative number on record of women medical students in the United States.

Geographic Barriers

Still another arbitrary limitation, hopefully of a temporary character, is the restriction now placed by many publicly controlled institutions on students from outside the State. In some instances this has meant a complete prohibition of out-of-State students. In other States, the tuition differential in favor of resident students has been substantially increased. In the interest of a desirable mobility and regional interchange of college students, it is earnestly to be hoped that these institutions will remove barriers as rapidly as possible to out-of-State enrollments.

The Plight of the Nonveteran

Although it is a limitation of a different character, the pressure of veteran enrollments has temporarily reduced the opportunities for other younger students to enter college. The pre-World War II trend would have led to an expected enrollment of about 1.8 million college students in the school year 1947. Actually, about 2.4 million students were in college, about a million of whom were veterans above the normal college age. The statistics indicate that the number of youth of college age in college in 1947 is 500,000 less than the anticipated number based on the prewar trends. The conclusion is that a wise national policy of veteran education did, nevertheless, place serious difficulties in the way of about half a million of their younger brothers and sisters attending college in 1947. And this situation on a somewhat reduced scale may well continue into the next academic year. This situation only argues, of course, for the most rapid possible provision of more facilities so that there will be no question that both veterans and nonveterans and both men and women students can be accepted to the full extent of their qualifications.

Academic Requirements for Admission

In any enumeration of the factors of arbitrary exclusion or limitation it is necessary to mention the special nature of the typical current academic requirements for college entrance. The students usually considered by admissions officers most eligible to enter college are those who have taken the so-called *academic* course and been graduated from an accredited high school. Yet, out of a total of about 25,000 senior high schools, there are still some 3,000 which are unaccredited; this means that they fail to satisfy the standards of their State boards of education or a voluntary accrediting association with respect to their resources, equipment, curriculum, and quality of teaching.

Further, about 60 percent of the young people of high-school age were actually attending high school immediately before World War II, and of these less than half were taking the academic course designed to prepare them for college. Of this number, only one in three actually entered college.

The academic entrance requirements relating to secondary school courses and grades still constitute in too many cases an arbitrary hurdle to college admission. In respect to admissions there are three different procedures: that of some State universities where the high-school diploma is the sole basis for admission; that of independent colleges where special criteria are set up; and that of the church related colleges where admission requirements may on occasion be narrowed to affiliates of the particular church.

The high-school diploma as the sole criterion of admission to the State universities is increasingly recognized as inadequate. A partial indication of this is the high mortality of students who "drop out" of State universities in the first 2 years. General tests of intellectual capacity and aptitude for a college education are available; these can take adequate account of the wide disparities in high-school education even within individual States. Greater reliance on such tests, in addition to the highly reliable evidence of the ranking of the individual student in his high-school class, might well lead to a wiser selection of students by the institutions, which should mean more opportunity for more college work by more young people.

The desirability of a broadened selection base is discussed in the *Eight Year Study*, prepared for the Progressive Education Association. It showed that the actual subjects studied in high school were of less importance as an index of competence for college work than over-all intellectual capacity. It further showed that colleges can secure all the information they need for selective admission without prescribing the curriculum of the secondary school.

This Commission agrees with the conclusions reached in that study: first, "no college can be justified in setting up requirements for ad-

mission which have been shown to be unnecessary in preparing students to do college work * * * ; second, the knowledge, skills, habits, and qualities of mind and character essential as preparation for college work should be ascertained by colleges and schools cooperatively; and third, a plan for admission should be adopted which provides the college with needed information concerning candidates, but which does not prescribe the content or organization of the secondary school curriculum."

Emphasis upon a more flexible set of criteria for selection of college students implies no lowering of intellectual standards; quite the contrary. But colleges do need more realistically to confront the great variations in high-school curricula. Furthermore, they must be able to offset the handicaps of secondary school instruction which is of poor quality.

The important supplementary value of testing programs lies in the flexibility which they permit, both for the admission and for the advancement of the student. Adherence to rigid admission requirements and prescribed secondary school studies has worked a considerable hardship on individuals who, through inadequate counseling or inferior secondary school facilities, have come to the campus without the approved grouping of courses. Moreover, holding each college student to uniform course requirements too often enforces a dreary repetition of subject matter in the first two college years. Present bases of admission to graduate and professional schools are also admittedly unsatisfactory and not truly selective of superior talent.

The program for accrediting the educational experience of men in the armed forces has abundantly demonstrated that objective tests of mastery of knowledge and skill are adequate measures of potential success in college. More than a million former service personnel have taken the General Educational Development Test and other examinations. In many instances, their showing on these tests has served as a basis for the award of a high school diploma, or appropriate college credit.

The newly devised tests and related devices afford valuable means for recognizing individual differences at both undergraduate and graduate levels, and for adjusting individual study programs in terms of ability and achievement.

Special mention should be given to a further phase of the restrictive admissions policies of certain professional schools. Some professional associations, which have assumed heavy responsibilities for accrediting professional schools, have become too restrictive in the number of students they allow to be admitted. Such arbitrary limitations create a monopoly and do not provide sufficient practitioners to meet the national demand. An insistence on high

qualitative standards may thus be made the means of too drastic quantitative curtailment.

The Impact of Limited Guidance

The inadequacy of skilled educational and personal guidance services, both at the secondary school level and within the colleges, has imposed an arbitrary and unfortunate handicap upon many qualified students.

Half of our cities of over 10,000 have no provision for guidance in their local high schools. Efficient high school guidance would mean the salvaging of thousands of boys and girls for a longer educational experience.

Similarly, a well planned guidance program in college—including educational, vocational, and personal counseling—would help greatly to extend the college careers of many students who now do not become adjusted and who withdraw from college for reasons which could be corrected.

The importance of this guidance work in keeping open the channels of education for more people is indicated when note is taken of the great diversity in college admissions requirements, in varying tuition and scholarship provisions, to say nothing of the variety in curricular objectives and programs both in colleges with 2-year and in colleges with 4-year offerings. All of these various options and possibilities point conclusively to the need for a wide extension of competent precollege counseling in order to encourage and facilitate a wise channeling of secondary school students into the most suitable college. Moreover, with the present sharp distinctions in many high schools between the *academic* and the *general* or *commercial* courses, unless the student has been guided to take the academic course, he is virtually precluded from qualifying for college entrance. All these factors combine to place young people from certain schools and regions at a serious disadvantage. Such a program would also have the additional social value of facilitating a better adjustment of individual talents to employment opportunities.

DEMOCRACY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

If we are to realize the democratic principle of equality of opportunity in education, new ways must be found to translate this principle into practice.

Fundamental to this effort must be a greatly increased will on the part of all American citizens to see that justice is done in educational institutions. There has been too much tardiness and timidity. It now seems clear that many institutions will change their policies only under legal compulsion.

Considerable thought and study should be given to the establishment of "Fair Educational Practices" laws, paralleling the so-called fair employment practices measures enacted or considered by several states. Such laws would give those believed to be the victims of discrimination recourse to an administrative procedure which might investigate and establish the facts of each individual case. That there have been benefits from the existence of legal remedies in the realm of industrial employment is now clear. Nor have the fears of the opponents of such legislation been substantiated in practice. Laws which place equal obligation upon every institution of higher learning to admit applicants only on the basis of publicly justifiable criteria would not resolve every problem of discrimination which exists within colleges and universities. If carefully devised, however, such measures should go far to equalizing educational opportunity.

Many believe that voluntary action, if vigorously and universally pursued, would be more desirable than compulsory action. But the assumption that early and general voluntary action will be adequate to meet the need does not appear to be warranted.

When colleges admit all qualified students—when scholarship, ability, and other defensible standards are made the basis of admission rather than race, color, creed, sex, national origin or ancestry—then a democratic solution will have been reached. When our colleges and universities are being vigorously administered in ways which promote equal opportunity for all qualified students, the local communities and the community of the Nation cannot help but follow such leadership in other areas of our national life.

A National Program of Scholarships and Fellowships

In appraising the availability of educational opportunity in the United States, this report has stressed the grave inequalities in family income throughout the Nation, the increasing tuition and other fees, both of publicly and privately controlled colleges, the increasing living costs of students, and the difficulties confronted where high-school graduates live at a distance from a college.

This Commission recognizes the continuing importance of these economic barriers. Lowering of tuition fees and the establishment of a system of tuition-free community colleges have already been recommended. But these measures are not sufficient.

Each American family clearly has an obligation to do everything it can to provide for its children the highest educational level of which those children are capable. The obligation is first that of the family. The problem is complicated by the fact that, unhappily, circumstances so often prevent the family from redeeming its obligation.

The need for an informed, enlightened citizenry in a democracy is so great that educational opportunities must be provided for all. It is essential, therefore, to consider the practicability of a Federal program of scholarships or grants-in-aid, and fellowships. This program should supplement inadequate student-aid programs now provided through private grants, institutional scholarship funds, and State and Federal appropriations. The national program must be so conceived that it will encourage the further provision of funds from private, local, and State sources. Also, the program must be so administered that it will foster the initiative and intellectual development of the student himself. Individuals receiving aid should be fully conscious of their obligation to return to society the investment which society is making in them.

PRESENT MEANS OF FINANCIAL AID

There are various means through which financial assistance is now given to college students. Among these are opportunities for employ-

ment, loans, grants-in-aid, scholarships, and fellowships. At the graduate level, there may also be part-time teaching and research work. *No program of student aid should diminish the responsibility of individual American families to help their children obtain a college education; neither should it detract from the initiative and resourcefulness of the student who has both the opportunity and ability to carry on a modest amount of part-time employment.* But, as has been shown, many families cannot afford to send their children to college, and the proportion of young people who can secure self-help opportunity decreases as the number of college students in any one institution increases.

Loans to college students constitute a traditional, though unpopular, source of aid. In 1946-47, \$23,600,000 was available in loan funds and only \$3,700,000 was borrowed. Even though the loan may have a low interest rate or none at all, and even though the institution allows 3 to 5 years after graduation before initial repayment, the student hesitates to assume the financial obligation. He often anticipates that during the period in which the loan must be repaid, he will incur the added responsibilities of marriage and a family. Furthermore, a prior mortgage on his earnings may be a handicap in procuring a further loan to meet postgraduation needs for starting a business or profession. A program of student loans, wisely administered, can be of assistance to students, but this Commission concludes that even a more generous loan program cannot represent an effective measure for equalizing educational opportunity to the extent which the total need makes mandatory.

Colleges and universities in 1940-41 paid approximately \$5,000,000 in outright individual grants to students, to assist them in meeting their immediate financial needs. Such assistance has enabled students to remain in college, but the inadequacy of this amount to meet the total need is indicated by the fact that there were only 50,000 recipients and the average grant amounted to about \$100. Hundreds of thousands of others might have entered college if funds had been available. It is apparent that the assurance of expanded opportunities for higher education must be sought elsewhere.

The need for a large-scale Federal program of grants-in-aid and fellowships is more apparent when existing resources are examined in the light of the recommendations for an enlarged student enrollment. The inadequacy of present funds for student aid is at once suggested by the U. S. Office of Education report for the academic year 1941. For that typical year, in the 967 colleges and universities which reported, a total of 61,290 students received scholarships with a cash value of \$10,210,611; and 11,390 graduate students received fellowships with a value of \$4,513,564. Thus, only 5 percent of the enrolled

students received such aid; the average scholarship was \$165, the average fellowship was \$400.

Data available from the same source for the year 1946-47 combine scholarships and fellowships. Total disbursements for all types of institutions of higher education, including public and private, were \$21,229,000; the number of recipients was 113,425, or 5.5 percent of the students enrolled; the average grant was \$187.16.

Grants-in-aid, scholarships, and loans provided by institutions have been supplemented by State-administered scholarships provided by direct legislative appropriation. New York State, for example, each year awards a specified number of scholarships to high-school graduates who qualify on the basis of the State-wide Regents examinations. Residence within the State is a prerequisite. The individual is free to select any institution in New York State, and there are no restrictions upon his choice of subject matter. At present, such scholarships are for \$350 a year and are granted to 750 students each year for a 4-year period. This is an encouraging extension of a previous State program in New York. There is also a temporary State provision of \$350 a year for 4 years, to benefit a total of 12,000 veterans.

Similar programs which would include more and larger scholarships offered by all the States would constitute a step toward equal opportunity. Irrespective of, and in addition to whatever program of grants-in-aid the Federal Government may decide to adopt, this Commission urges generous extension of State scholarship provisions. Nevertheless, it is realistic to concede that in the immediate future many States will not feel that they can afford to embark upon such a program. And this may be especially true if they will decide to embark upon a policy of substantial reduction of tuition and other fees in their publicly controlled institutions. In other words, however intrinsically desirable it is to extend such a program within the States, this Commission believes that such scholarships would not represent a sufficiently comprehensive or adequate attack upon the problem; and especially would this be true in the less prosperous States.

Fellowship awards at the graduate level divide into three main types: cash awards, frequently restricted by specifications regarding fields of study and other limiting factors; teaching fellowships, entailing part-time employment in the institution; and research fellowships, requiring work of a specific nature. Of these three types, the research fellowship is becoming more important because corporations are showing an increasing interest in the development of research ability, especially in natural sciences. The National Research Council in 1946 reported that 302 industrial companies are supporting about 1,800 scholarships and fellowships or grants for research in colleges

and universities. The total of such fellowships, however, remains far short of national needs.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STUDENTS

Federal aid to students is not an untried expedient. The most comprehensive program prior to the war was the federally supported National Youth Administration, which in 1935 took over a Federal Emergency Relief Administration program. The final report of the NYA shows that approximately 620,000 college students received help through the college work program during the period 1935-43. The average number of undergraduate students employed per month, in the peak year 1936-37, was 133,850. The largest number of graduate students employed per month was 5,760 in 1935-36. Total payment by the Federal Government was approximately \$93,860,000, of which \$89,000,000 was for the undergraduate program and \$4,860,000 for the graduate program.

Assistance was based upon the individual's financial need. The institution selected the students and their work assignments. Compensation varied, but averaged approximately \$12 per month at the undergraduate level, and \$20 per month for graduate students.

A total of 1,651 institutions of higher education participated in the NYA program during the academic year 1937-38. All nonprofit institutions were eligible upon certification by the principal State education officer. The value of the program to the participants may be inferred not only by the number who were employed in student work but also by their scholastic achievement. During the academic year 1938-39, 83 percent of 696 reporting institutions declared that NYA students as a group made higher grades than the general student body; 15 percent of the institutions reported lower average grades; 2 percent stated there was no significant difference.

There have been other Federal programs of financial aid to college and university students. Through the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps, students have received substantial compensations. Under the provisions of the Holloway Plan, which was authorized by legislation (Public Law 729) enacted in 1946, NROTC students receive tuition, fees, books, uniforms, and retainer pay of \$50 per month, in return for which they are obligated to serve a stated period of time in the Navy.

The United States Public Health Service is authorized to make research grants to institutions and to offer fellowships to individuals for work in fields "related to the ailments of man." The usual fellowships range from \$1,200 annually for an unmarried candidate for the master's degree, up to \$3,600 annually for a married candidate for the

doctorate. These fellowships are renewable and carry a \$300 increase during the second year. The Public Health Service is also authorized to set up special fellowships above the \$3,600 ceiling for persons of proved ability. In 1946, the passage of the Mental Health Act gave specific authorization for a system of graduate fellowships ranging up to \$3,600 per year in value. These grants are available only to students working in the fields of mental health.

The bill to establish a National Science Foundation included provision for Federal scholarships and fellowships in the scientific fields, other than social science.

These programs and proposals indicate that the Federal Government recognizes the desirability of providing financial aid to students because of the public benefits which accrue. This Commission believes, however, that a general program of national grants-in-aid and graduate fellowships, equally available within the limits of the Federal appropriation to all eligible students, will make specialized and piecemeal programs unnecessary and unwise. By having all general grants and fellowship programs administered within a single program, the competition among the various programs can be eliminated. This is imperative to meet total national needs.

The Federal Government provides certain indirect forms of student assistance. The armed forces are authorized to assign a proportion of their personnel to study at civilian educational institutions. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation provides financial assistance to the States in order that they may aid disabled civilians to undertake training and educational programs. During the fiscal year 1947, a total of 29,817 students were receiving such assistance; of these approximately 22 percent were enrolled in colleges and universities. Special programs at a college level are offered by the Graduate School of the Department of Agriculture and by the Graduate School of the National Bureau of Standards. The Tennessee Valley Authority has a broad program of cooperation with institutions of higher education. More recently, the Atomic Energy Commission has developed similar cooperative relationships. These are only a few of the many Federal agencies which have important joint programs with the colleges and universities.

The most significant Federal program of educational assistance ever provided by any nation is that made available for veterans of World War II through Public Laws 16 and 346, commonly known as the *Rehabilitation Act* and the *GI Bill*. The Veterans Administration reported on June 30, 1947, that 6,597,000 veterans had applied for benefits under these two laws, and that 3,835,000 had already entered upon training and education at one time or another. Up to

June 30, 1947, the total expenditure of the Federal Government for benefits under these two laws was nearly \$2.8 billion. During the fiscal year July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1947, 2.3 billion was paid out, of which about 1.2 billion was for subsistence, tuition, and other fees for veterans in college.

The number of veterans in training at any one time reached a peak of 2,675,000 in April 1947. Of these 1,209,000, or 45 percent, were enrolled in educational institutions of higher learning and the remainder were enrolled in other schools or engaged in on-the-job training. By June 30, 1947, the number of veterans in training had dropped to 2,074,000, because of the summer vacation period.

The GI Bill and the Rehabilitation Act make provisions for education and training benefits for a potential group of 16,000,000 World War II veterans. Each grant has a minimum cash value of approximately \$1,000 per school year: the veteran with no dependents receives \$65 per month for 9 months and the institution receives up to \$500 for his tuition and essential supplies. Veterans with one or more dependents receive subsistence of \$90 per month. Disabled veterans receive more. The maximum period of benefits under the GI Bill is 48 months, depending on length of active service during World War II. The average entitlement of trainees is about 42 months, 6 months more than the four academic years usually required to complete a college course. Training under the Rehabilitation Act is for a period necessary to rehabilitate the veteran and may continue beyond 4 years, if approved by the Administrator of the Veterans Administration.

Even with these legislative provisions, it must be repeated that the number actually enrolled in colleges is smaller than the accumulative number who would have attended college had there been no interruption as a result of war. In other words, the heavy registration of veterans only partially represents the backlog of college enrollments and does not represent a temporary bulge.

While aid to the veterans has undoubtedly enabled many families to free funds to help pay for the higher education of the veterans' younger brothers and sisters, this is only a temporary situation unless steps are taken to assure for nonveterans the same kind of assistance that is being given to veterans.

SOURCES OF FUNDS

Funds for financial assistance of individual students are available from four major sources: the current resources of the institutions, private gifts, State and municipal appropriations, and Federal appropriations. Financial demands upon the institutions of higher education, however, make it increasingly difficult for them to set aside larger funds for student aid. The increased number of faculty members and

their salaries, the expansion of physical facilities to care for the permanent pressure of rising enrollment, and the higher prices—these are but a few of the factors which make it impossible for institutions to increase or even, in some cases, to maintain the funds available for student aid.

The amount of grants and fellowship funds available through private sources has declined. It will continue to be less, if the income from endowment continues to decrease and the value of the dollar to decline. Research grants for industrial fellowships constitute an exception, but do not affect the over-all situation since they are largely limited to the specific areas of interest to the donor, and tend to be concentrated in a relatively few institutions.

The Commission strongly recommends that all institutions of higher learning seek increased private donations for scholarships and fellowships; that such gifts be free from encumbrances designating specific qualifications as to the recipients, fields of study, and the like; and that donors of large amounts be encouraged to distribute student aid more widely among the colleges and universities.

State appropriations for scholarships and fellowships, if expanded and extended, might provide for a large proportion of needy students. The volume of this Commission's report entitled "Financing Higher Education," demonstrates that such aid will be unequally available among the states and, therefore, cannot be considered a universally effective measure for expanding educational opportunity.

A NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

The inadequacy of existing funds for scholarships and fellowships makes a national program imperative if higher education is to fulfill its responsibility to the individual, to the Nation, and to the world. In view of the imperative need for highly trained personnel and in the light of the vast expenditure now being made by the Federal Government for the education and training only of veterans, this is a reasonable proposal. The program for veterans has already justified itself as a splendid contribution to postwar progress for the individual and for society. Surely the continuance and extension of such a program to the youth of the future is equally justified.

Unless present legislation is amended, all veterans discharged prior to July 1, 1947, must have completed their education under the GI bill by July 1, 1956. The diminishing of the number of new veteran enrollees will gradually enable the normal flow of secondary school graduates into college to be resumed at a rate higher than the prewar level. This increased flow of high school graduates will result from many factors, including population increases. It is thus advisable that new provisions to equalize opportunities be initiated in 1948-49.

Confronted by this larger demand and recognizing the economic difficulties which will preclude many qualified students from entering college, this Commission recommends that a national program of Federal scholarships in the form of grants-in-aid be provided for at least 20 percent of all undergraduate, nonveteran students. The Commission is convinced that the basis of individual need coupled with the requisite qualifications of total personal abilities and interests should be the controlling factor in the selection of the recipients of such aid.

In the following elaboration of this recommendation, the Commission emphasizes that it is more concerned with the establishment of a broad approach to method than with rigid insistence on the wisdom of all details, many of which would necessarily evolve at the administrative stage of operation.

In point of timing, this Commission makes its recommendation in two parts—one specifying a progressively increasing 5-year program of Federal appropriations for scholarship grants, and the other suggesting alternative possibilities for the period from 1953 through 1960.

The fiscal recommendations are of this dual character, not because it might not be justifiable to propose a program of Federal appropriations on a scale which would eventually equal the amounts required in the GI Bill. *It seems obvious that, in the national interest, we as a nation can well afford to invest in the education of needy nonveterans amounts approaching those which we are now investing in the education and training of qualified veterans.* But this Commission prefers to take account of a number of qualifying, if incalculable, factors in offering recommendations of total amounts for grants-in-aid for the immediate future. Among these factors are, for example, the possibility of State universities substantially lowering their fees in the near future; the likelihood of the general level of wages and salaries remaining at a level as high as at present; the possibility of an increasing number who may be able to go to community colleges and live at home; the possibility of the States themselves adding or extending programs of substantial State grants-in-aid to many more high school graduates; and finally, the size of the gross national product in the years ahead.

The primary purpose of a Federal scholarship program is to equalize educational opportunity by eliminating, at least in part, the economic factor in determining college attendance. The amount of the scholarship would vary with the financial need of the individual, depending on the actual amount required to make it possible for him to attend and continue in college. The amount of the scholarship might reach a proposed maximum of \$800 for an academic year. For

purposes of estimating the first year's cost, an average scholarship of \$400 may be assumed. This leads to an initial recommendation for 1948-49 of approximately \$120,000,000 for Federal scholarships which would give assistance to some 300,000 students. This is, in the Commission's view, a conservative and wholly defensible recommendation, especially in the light of the extent of economic handicaps set forth earlier in this volume. And it constitutes a beginning which will enable administrative and selective procedures to be set up and be tested prior to the possible expansion of the program.

Since the Commission recommends that scholarships be available to a minimum of 20 percent of all non-veteran students, this program in dollar amounts should be augmented each year, as the GI appropriation needs recede. It is therefore recommended that in each fiscal year after 1948-49 and continuing through 1952-53, an amount be appropriated over and above \$120,000,000.

The computation and the total amount suggested here, are not necessarily regarded by this Commission as either ideally desirable or adequate to meet what our analysis reveals to be the known inadequacies. But, at this level of expenditure a start can be made. The continuing needs will demonstrate themselves, and will result in a more informed and adequate authorization of Federal expenditure in the years after 1953.

In these years, several options may be suggested as to the amounts of Federal appropriation to be wisely advocated. At the present time the veterans' tuition and subsistence requirements for post high school education cost over \$1,000,000,000 per year of Federal money. There are those who would say that to equal this amount for annual nonveteran grants-in-aid by the year 1960 would not represent an extravagant or unjustifiable outlay for this important educational purpose. If the figure of \$1,000,000,000 is taken as the amount to earmark out of Federal funds for this purpose by 1960, it becomes readily possible to construct a program of progressively increasing numbers of grants from 1953 to 1960, which would build up to this figure or to any agreed fractional part of it. Obviously, Federal funds are voted on the basis of public conviction of public need and value. And this Commission is convinced that with a preliminary trial period of a few years, the Congress will appropriate funds on a scale commensurate with what an informed public opinion will by that time come to identify as an urgent national need.

In general terms, the procedure recommended in connection with this grant-in-aid program is as follows:

Each applicant would select the college or university which he or she desired to attend and would assure his or her admission to it in the regular way.

Each State would establish a representative scholarship commission to administer funds granted to it for this purpose by the Federal Government.¹

In suitable State legislation it should be provided that this scholarship commission would include representatives of public and private secondary schools where appropriate, or public and private colleges and universities where appropriate, of the chief State school officer and of public-spirited citizens at large within each State. This Commission would be charged to act upon requests for individual grants-in-aid made to it by those secondary school students who are residents of the State and who had been accepted for admission by an approved college or university of their own choice in any State. The commission would also be responsible for the annual renewal of such grants on the basis of an established procedure of renewal certificates as issued by the college or university for satisfactory completion of the previous year's work.

A maximum of seven annual grants to one student should be specified. This will permit the use of such grants for graduate or professional study. The maximum amount allowed for any one grant would be \$800 per year.

This grant-in-aid provision would be available to students in approved 2-year and 4-year colleges, public and private, and for graduate study including professional schools for a maximum of 3 years. Individual exceptions might be made in professional fields requiring more than 7 years of preparation.

The primary basis for determining the award of the scholarship to an individual student should be his financial need. The award would further depend upon the applicant's ability, character, sense of responsibility, and such other factors as may be adjudged pertinent within the announced purposes of the appropriation.

The broad basis for determining those applicants who would give definite promise of profiting from a college education should be set forth in regulations by the Federal agency responsible for the administration of the total fund, which should be the one primarily concerned with higher education. The conduct of any examinations, interviews and the like would be left to suitable provision to be made by each State's scholarship commission in harmony with the basic Federal regulations.

¹ Statement of dissent:

I dissent from the proposal for State administration of scholarships. Since the purpose of such scholarships is exclusively to enable more students to obtain a higher education, and not to influence the distribution of students as between regions or between private and public institutions, I believe that Federal scholarships should be prorated among colleges and universities and administered by them on the basis of individual student need and ability. Under the National Youth Administration program our colleges and universities proved their capacity to redeem such a responsibility.

MILTON S. EISENHOWER.

The proportion of the total Federal appropriation which would be available annually to each State's scholarship commission should be determined by taking equal account of two factors:

(1) 50 percent of the weight would be given to the number of high-school graduates in each State, each year, in relation to the total number of high-school graduates in the United States; and

(2) 50 percent of the weight would be determined on the proportion of young people in the 18-21 year age group, resident within the State, to the total 18-21 year old youth in the total population.

The following example illustrates the application of the principles. If 5 percent of the high-school graduates of the country are in one State and 3 percent of the 18-21 year old age group in the United States reside in that same State, 4 percent of the total Federal appropriation would be available to assist youth of college age who are residents of that State.

This Commission recognizes the complex problems involved in any national program of grants-in-aid, but believes that the difficulties can be resolved through careful and continuing appraisal of the effectiveness of its operation.

The scholarship commission in each State, acting in close conjunction with the agency in that State responsible for higher education, should be the instrumentality for channeling the funds from the Federal Government to the individual students from each State.

If there should be any unused balance of the total amount allocated to any State, this would revert to the Federal Treasury at the end of each fiscal year.

This Commission recognizes also that at present this proposal would, to some extent, work against those States in which secondary school education is inadequate. But the availability of grants, plus the use of the suggested formula, should provide a stimulus to the improvement of secondary education. In certain States where this improvement is dependent clearly upon access to Federal equalizing funds, consideration might well be given to the establishment of provisions for drawing upon part of these resources for a grant-in-aid program to secondary school students, at least during their last 2 years in high school.

A NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP PLAN

In order to provide appropriate and adequate encouragement of graduate study beyond the baccalaureate degree and to assure the nation of an adequate supply of highly trained personnel, this Commission recommends a program of fellowships for graduate study.

The genuine need for an expanded program of advanced and professional study is emphasized by the fact that in the academic year

1946-47, approximately 40,000 graduate degrees were granted in all the colleges and universities of the country, of which number only 3,787 represented the learned doctoral degrees.

There has been clear and widespread recognition of the importance of such a program in terms of research developments; new contributions to knowledge; and as pointed out in the volume of this Commission's report entitled "Staffing Higher Education," of attracting able young people into study which would eventually qualify them for college teaching and administration.

This Commission, therefore, recommends that Federal funds be appropriated to provide for the establishment of a program of Federal fellowships. The amount of each fellowship should be \$1,500 a year and the number of such fellowships be 10,000 in the year 1948-49; 20,000 in 1949-50; and 30,000 in 1950-51 through 1952-53.

Recipients should be selected on the basis of a national competitive examination.

Each fellowship would continue for a maximum of 3 years if the student maintains acceptable academic standards of attainment, with explicit renewal each year to qualifying students.

The holder of each fellowship would be allowed to select his own field of graduate study and to pursue it at an institution of his own choice, if the university selected offers appropriate courses in his chosen field.

The program here recommended would entail a Federal appropriation of \$15,000,000 for the academic year 1948-49; \$30,000,000 for 1949-50; and \$45,000,000 for 1950-51 and for the two succeeding years. This appropriation is in addition to that proposed for the Federal scholarship program and in addition to funds provided for other fellowships already made available in specialized fields.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Commission recommends that, to carry out the scholarship and fellowship programs recommended, an appropriate and nationally representative Federal Board for Student Aid be created. This board should be associated closely with the Federal agency primarily responsible for higher education.

This program of Federal grants-in-aid and fellowships is recommended, as already stated, on a highly conservative basis of numbers for a limited period, in order to enable the program to become initiated in an experimental way. But the Commission is confident that this initial program will soon demonstrate both its value and its inadequacy to cope with the needs of the national situation.

The Commission further recommends that before the expiration of the appropriations as above recommended, the Congress, through

as appropriate committees, review the program looking to its extension and considerable enlargement in subsequent years.

Reference has already been made to a variety of existing and proposed Federal provisions for scholarships and fellowships operating under a number of national agencies. Ideally and eventually, it would be desirable that all programs for the allocation of Federal funds for these purposes at the undergraduate and graduate level be administered under one agency. And this goal should be kept clearly in mind by the responsible congressional and administrative authorities as the aims, procedures, and amounts of these allocations become established into a defined pattern.

Whether or not each detail of the procedures here proposed for operating the scholarship and fellowship programs is found to be the most practicable, the basic principles seem to this Commission to supply a helpful initial guide to the drafting of a plan.

Only as the opportunity for higher education is equalized for every potential student who has the interest and the ability to profit from college and university study at both undergraduate and graduate levels, can the ideals of democracy in education be realized. The program of scholarships and fellowships here proposed is not for the welfare of the individual alone, but is vital in the national interest.

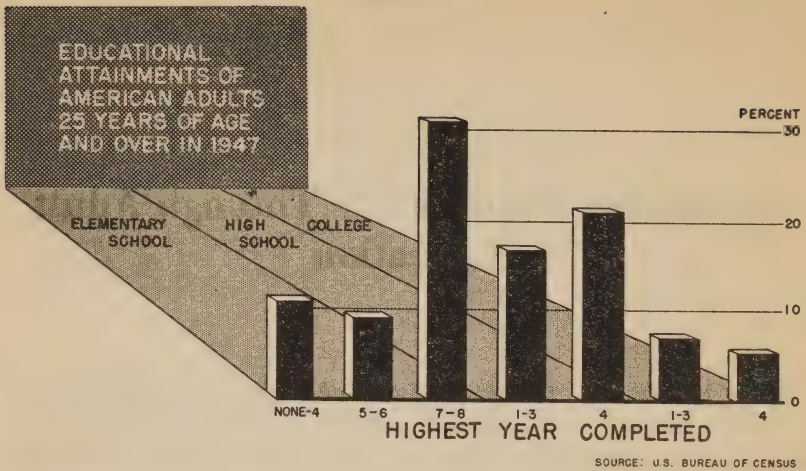
Equalizing Opportunity Through Adult Education

The responsibility of institutions of higher education is not to youth of college age alone. It extends to all adults. The college can enrich the life of the individual and the community. It can help to round out the education provided by elementary and secondary schools and by other types of institutions; advance the individual in essential knowledge and skills; provide facilities for self-expression and appreciation in the arts; disseminate information regarding recent developments in fields such as government, economics, the physical and natural sciences; provide opportunities for discussion, at the adult level, of issues vital to national life and to international relations; and give to both the older and younger generations a more adequate basis for understanding their mutual problems.

It is also now increasingly recognized that many important interests arise only with maturity and that a sense of need for wider educational horizons grows directly out of adult experience. To afford ready opportunity to satisfy the educational needs which adult life brings is essential to the best use of individual talents. Yet adult education is also more than a service to individuals. Rightly conceived and promoted it would help to bring order into the spiritual chaos of today and to create a democracy with enhanced material, moral and intellectual strength.

The 1940 Census provided an eloquent testimonial to the need for adult education. At that time less than 40 percent of the voters—people over 20 years of age—had completed more than an eighth-grade education. By 1947, the percentage had risen to 53. Yet, most of the broadening studies such as civics, economics, sociology, problems of democracy, and international relations usually are taught only above the elementary school. In 1947 there were nearly twice as many *functional illiterates* (fourth grade or less) as there were college graduates. Chart 7 shows the level of education attained by American adults of an age at which formal education has usually been completed.

Chart 7



FACTORS INCREASING THE NEED FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Many factors make a broad program of adult education essential for our national well-being. Some of these arise out of a new concept of world community and others out of the problems of the domestic environment. The population of the United States is becoming increasingly an adult one. In 1790 for approximately every 1,000 children under 16 years of age there were 1,042 adults over 16; in 1900 for every 1,000 children under 16 there were 1,748 adults; in 1947 for every 1,000 children there were 2,621 adults. Today through man's conquest of disease, a drop in infant mortality rate, and changes in modes of living, the life expectancy of the individual at his birth has increased from an estimated 35 years in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1790 to a national expectancy of about 67 years in 1945.

The increasing tempo of change in our technology is another factor which is increasing the demand for adult education. The human significance of social change is dramatically reflected in shifting occupational patterns. Our economic system has been transformed from one in which the majority of persons were engaged in the conversion of raw materials to useful goods into one in which a constantly growing proportion are engaged in managerial, professional, and service functions.

Increased technical efficiency has also made possible a drastic reduction in hours of work. In 1914 the average workweek in manufacturing was 49.4 hours and by 1947 it had dropped to 40 hours or less. With further decline in the workweek, it will become increasingly important to learn how to make wiser use of leisure time.

The increasingly specialized nature of work has done more than increase the leisure time at the disposal of the worker; it has changed the kinds of activities in which individuals need to engage during their leisure hours. The very nature of the work frequently tends to fractionalize the experience of the worker and to draw on only a part of his personality. Repetitive and simple operations too frequently fail to give any satisfying sense of creativeness. Adult education may assist in offsetting these factors and in giving meaning to work experience as well.

The study of industrial relations has become a vital part of adult education, carried on by extension divisions, special schools, and by trade union and civic groups. The complex interrelationships of labor and management require trained leadership and understanding. Many representatives of labor and management have recognized this need; by September 1947 several universities had introduced intensive adult study of industrial relations in addition to undergraduate courses.

All sections of the trade union movement have united behind a proposal to ask for Federal funds to make available information, education, and research services. Agriculture has received such assistance over many years with beneficial results. The study, through adult education agencies, of industrial relations would help to reduce the ignorance and misunderstanding which are increasingly dangerous in our interdependent life.

A further element in the need for expanding adult education is that adults desire to learn. The Gallup Poll for December 16, 1944, reported that 34 percent of the adults desired to enroll in adult education classes after the war. The greatest interest was shown by the age group from 20 to 29. The percentage of those interested in adult education was even higher when the poll was again reported on July 6, 1947; 41 percent, or more than two of every five adults in the voting population, expressed the desire to engage in some kind of study. The survey revealed: (1) the desire for adult education was greater among women than men; (2) the more education a person has, the more he wants; and (3) the greatest demand for adult schooling was still in the younger age group 21-29 years of age. This poll found the largest percentage wished to study subjects in the social sciences, and the next highest percentage wished to study in professional fields.

PRESENT ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Although many public and private agencies have some responsibility for adult education, only those aspects which might wisely become the responsibility of higher education are here considered.

In Community Colleges

The community or junior college has found itself admirably adapted to provide adult education. In 1944-45, 65 percent of the total number enrolled in all community colleges were special students who sought instruction in fields commonly recognized as "adult education." During the period 1937-41 there was a general increase in enrollments in community colleges, but the increase of enrollments in adult education programs was disproportionately large. In Connecticut, for example, there was an increase of 125 percent in total enrollment, whereas the adult education enrollment increased 225 percent. California now serves nearly a million adults a year in approximately 120 evening high schools and junior colleges designated entirely for adults.

Through Extension Services

Every State has institutions of higher education which offer formal classroom courses through their extension divisions. Of the courses offered in 1947, 40 percent were of junior college level, 52 percent senior college, 1 percent graduate level, and the remaining 7 percent not of college grade. Some students take extension courses to earn credit toward degrees, but a significant proportion enroll for the satisfaction of gaining additional knowledge and understanding.

In Resident Centers

One of the significant and relatively recent developments in higher education is the establishment of resident extension centers in key locations off the campus where courses may be taken. According to a study made for this Commission by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, approximately 115,000 persons were enrolled in 195 resident centers in 1946-47. The increase in these resident centers is shown by the following percentages:

*Increases of fall
semester or term
1946-47 over that
of 1945-46 (percent)*

Number of resident centers in operation.....	240
Total number of part-time credit students enrolled in all centers.....	113
Total number noncredit students enrolled in all centers.....	120

Many of these centers have become an integral part of the system of higher education by making provision for enrollment of full-time-credit students as evidenced by the fact that the increase in full-time students was 600 percent in 1946-47 over 1945-46. The institutions reported that approximately 180 out of the 195 centers in operation during 1946-47 are planned on a permanent basis. The remainder were established primarily to meet the now current needs of veterans.

By Correspondence Courses

In many States one or more institutions of higher education offer a variety of courses by correspondence, including in some cases courses at the secondary level. The enrollment in these correspondence courses has also increased. In 1939-40 the enrollment in college level courses was 78,000; in 1943-44, 92,000. If the increase in enrollments in extension courses be taken as a guide, during 1946-47 the enrollment in correspondence courses can be expected to be more than 100,000.

These numbers, though significant, do not measure the demand as adequately as do the enrollments in commercial correspondence schools. In the middle 1940's approximately 800,000 men and women were taking courses offered by such schools. Of these courses the greatest proportion was vocational. The median age of the student enrolled was approximately 26, and the majority of them lived in communities of less than 100,000 population where there is usually little opportunity for local study.

In Cooperation With the Federal Government

Many agencies in the Federal Government have specific legislative responsibilities for adult education in addition to their in-service training programs.

One of the most important of these adult education programs is the cooperative extension service in agriculture and home economics, supported jointly by the Cooperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges in the several States and Territories. The Federal Government contributes more than 23 million dollars annually to this program. It has as its foundation the system of agricultural experiment stations and draws upon the personnel of the colleges and universities of which the stations are parts. The program operates mainly through the county agricultural agents and county home demonstration agents. Short courses are arranged on the campuses of cooperating colleges or elsewhere to bring together groups having common problems. It would be difficult to overstate the value which has accrued to American agriculture and farm home life from this program.

The Apprentice Training Service of the United States Department of Labor is another significant adult education activity conducted through a Federal agency and involving the cooperation of schools, colleges, and training establishments. A total of over 162,000 persons were enrolled in apprentice training for about 300 occupations during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947. Such a program involves a combination of work and study with the related instruction provided by established educational institutions.

There is no single pattern or design for the adult education activities of "technical institutes." They vary from private schools offering training in only one specialized vocational field such as radio repair or commercial art to publicly controlled institutions offering a variety of courses in related fields. The basic differentiating features are their high specialization in preparation for specific vocations with limited inclusion of general education, and their emphasis upon programs of a subprofessional or semiprofessional nature. They frequently are not separate units but are parts of other educational institutions, including secondary schools, community colleges, and extension divisions of universities and colleges. They may also be organized as proprietary schools operating for profit, as independent agencies of Government, or as nonprofit public or private institutions. In some States they must be licensed or chartered; in others, in spite of their educational importance there is no control of these institutions.

The programs of courses vary from those that are intensive for a period of only a few weeks to those that are 1, 2, or 3 years in length. Frequently they are adapted specifically to the needs of a given industry or occupation.

The service of the technical institute is largely directed to those who have recently left high school and hence represent the younger adults. The need for such subprofessional training is attested to by the estimate of the U. S. Office of Education that the national economy can absorb 5.2 persons trained on the technical level in engineering to one on the professional level. Many other areas of employment can utilize an increasing number of technicians in such fields as nursing, laboratory services, and many more.

The present chaotic situation in the field of technical training represents a great waste in adult education. *This Commission recommends that technical institutes be integrated into the total educational system, be more adequately supervised, include more general education in their required courses, and as far as possible, become a part of the community college system.*

EXPANDING ADULT EDUCATION

Current developments in adult education, significant though they are, fail to meet the pressing needs and demands of the adults of the United States. Colleges and universities have done far less than they might. Too often adult education has been a stepchild of higher education. In terms of policy, planning, administration, counseling, provision for decentralization, utilization of newly adapted media of instruction, and training specialists as teachers and discussion

leaders, higher education has been backward in recognizing this added responsibility.

Here and there throughout the country individual experiments, tested projects and novel applications, remind us of the backwardness and tardiness of a national program, and thus suggest what its elements and directions can be.

There is, for example, the whole problem of the use of mass media. These present an almost unlimited opportunity for expansion of educational service at the college level. The radio, notably, is a significant channel for introducing facts, ideas, information—even personalities—into 36 million American homes. Some 60 million persons are estimated to constitute the radio audience. On the average, they are believed by some authorities to listen to their radios about 4 hours a day, divided almost evenly between day and evening hours.

Of the technical developments in radio, the use of FM has the most far-reaching implications for adult education. The Federal Communications Commission has set aside channels for the exclusive use of non-commercial, educational institutions, which would provide spacebands for FM stations all over the country.

The far-ranging development which occurred in the use of visual aids during World War II has again underscored the use of these devices in the educational process. In the first volume of this report, "Establishing the Goals," this Commission recommends the establishment of a permanent national group to do research on and to further expand the use of technical aids to education. The proven effectiveness of the motion picture as an instrument for reaching vast numbers of people offers the resourceful educator a virtually untapped means of expanding the processes for adult education in all fields. A modern, effective program of adult education should lean heavily upon motion pictures, not only for their power to arouse and to sustain interest, but also for their demonstrated achievements in improving and accelerating the learning process.

Equalizing educational opportunity for youth of college age, while it will go far to equip a new generation to cope better with its problems, will not yield its fullest and its rightful fruits, however, if today's adults are educationally slighted.

The very magnitude of the task elevates it to a problem of top priority in national educational policy. It is, of course, a problem that is operationally a local and State one; but the coverage has to be nationwide even while the programs derive from and are adapted to local conditions. There is thus the need that on the level of policy we view the requirements under the guidance and counsel of the U. S. Office of Education. There will thus be focused a picture of present performance, of future needs and of the material ways and means required to meet them.

But at the same time individual institutions can spearhead the local planning and budgeting in relation to need and demand, in order that the progress of adult education may not be thwarted by failures of financial support or of local educational vision.

We need, and need quickly, to have millions of our fellow citizens become literate and competent in matters political, economic, and cultural. Colleges and universities cannot sidestep their share of the responsibility for advancing that literacy and competence. Their further acknowledgment of it, together with the provision of the financial sinews, becomes the capstone of a policy and program to supply a higher education that is no longer dependent on ability to pay but only on ability to profit by learning.

This Commission recommends: the assumption of greater responsibility for adult education by colleges and universities; leadership in developing and utilizing the new techniques and methods which are now available; adequate appropriations by the institution and by State and Federal governments to provide for essential developments in adult education; and systematic preparation of teachers and discussion leaders.

Summary of This Commission's Recommendations

This volume of the Commission's report concludes with a recapitulation of the several recommendations which have been interspersed throughout the previous discussion.

1. The first condition toward equality of opportunity for a college education can only be satisfied when every qualified young person, irrespective of race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or economic status is assured of the opportunity for a good high school education in an accredited institution.

Further to provide for a desirable flexibility on determining fitness for college entrance, there should be a general broadening of college entrance requirements over and beyond the present customary unit course credits in academic subjects, through suitable supplementary tests of intellectual ability.

Also, in order that the high school experience in terms of both educational and employment opportunities may become most effective, there should be available adequate counseling and guidance throughout the high school period. Only in this way will American young people be aided effectively to select further opportunities for an education or for work in line with their individual talents and potentialities.

Because economic inequalities at this level are so acute, some provision, presumably with Federal support, should be considered for grants-in-aid to individual needy students in their last 2 years of high school.

2. Following broadly the precedent set by the GI Bill, we recommend a Federal program of scholarships in the form of grants-in-aid at the undergraduate level based primarily on individual need, available in all types of higher educational institutions. The individual student should have a free choice nationally among approved institutions. The maximum amount of money available per undergraduate student per year should be \$800. Methods of allocating

this sum within the several States should be on a basis which takes account of the number of each State's high school graduates and its total college age population.

The Commission recommends that the amount federally appropriated for these grant-in-aid in 1948-49 should be a minimum of \$120,000,000; increasing in the following years to provide scholarships for 20 percent of all nonveteran students.

3. A Federally administered plan of fellowships for graduate study is recommended in the amount of \$1,500 per student per year, with 10,000 fellowship holders being appointed in 1948-49, 20,000 in 1949-50, and 30,000 in 1950-51 to 1952-53 with a maximum of 4 years to any individual student. The candidates should be selected on the basis of a national competitive examination and the student should be free to make his own choice of the institution he would attend.

4. This Commission recommends the elimination of tuition and other required student fees in all publicly controlled colleges and universities for the thirteenth and fourteenth year; and a reduction beyond the fourteenth year, at least back to the level of 1938-39 tuition and fees, in institutions in which they have been raised.

It voices the hope that other means besides further increases in tuitions can be found to meet the operating expenses of privately controlled colleges.

5. This Commission is opposed to the continuance of college admissions policies which result in discrimination against students on grounds of race, religion, color, sex, or national origin. And we urge an immediate and voluntary abandonment of discriminatory practices.

We recommend further, because of the slowness of voluntary action, that educators support in their respective States the passage of carefully drawn legislation designed to make equally applicable in all institutions of higher learning the removal of arbitrary discriminatory practices in the carrying out of admissions policies.

Curtailment of admission of woman college students, due to inadequacy of facilities and against their entrance on an equal footing into professional schools, must be coped with.

It is further desirable that State universities at the earliest possible moment remove all prohibitions against the acceptance of out-of-State students.

6. Legislation in those States which now require segregation of white and Negro students should be repealed at the earliest practicable moment. And as far as graduate and professional education for the Negro is concerned, provision should be made by the States

which still require segregation to provide truly equal opportunity for qualified Negro students.

7. With respect to any and all provisions which are hereafter made to give effect to the several recommendations for Federal aid in the States, it should be an explicit requirement in the legislation appropriating Federal funds that they only be accorded to those institutions where discriminatory practices do not exist. Further, that, in States where legal segregation still prevails, provisions be made for the use of Federal monies equitably for all eligible individuals regardless of color, and for all institutions whether for Negroes or for whites.

8. It is important that curricular improvements assure that the first 2 college years shall be as stimulating and challenging as possible as one means of cutting down the high degree of student mortality which now prevails.

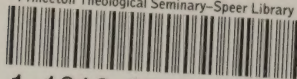
A further important feature of such a program will be adequate student counseling throughout the college experience on educational, vocational, and personal adjustments.

9. This Commission recommends, as an important element in equalization, the establishment of free, public, community colleges which would offer courses in general education both terminal and having transfer value, vocational courses suitably related to local needs, and adult education programs of varied character.

Such a development of State systems of community colleges will create a need for far more community college teachers, the training of whom will require added and special facilities.

10. The Commission urges that institutions of higher education undertake the development of a more comprehensive program of adult education as one important way of helping to remove present inadequacies in education among adults.

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